

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 10  
MARCH 18, 1977  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 9

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**SAN ANTONIO STRIKERS MARCH:** Three hundred members of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 780 marched in downtown San Antonio February 24 to protest the use of city buses to transport scabs across their picket line. Local 780 has a predominantly Chicano membership. It has been on strike against Friedrich Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Company since January 4.

After assembling on the steps of city hall, the workers filled the city council chamber. *Militant* correspondent Ellard Yow reports that many area unions sent statements of support.

Two weeks earlier IUE officers had threatened to sue the city to stop it from busing scabs. The city council ignored them. But confronted with 300 militant strikers, the council voted to recommend to the City Transportation Board that it stop leasing the buses to Friedrich.

Workers rallied again March 2 to protest the City Transportation Board's decision to continue busing scabs. IUE officers say they will now go ahead with their plans to sue the city.

## Hawaii protest



March 4 protest against cuts in University of Hawaii budget

Nearly 5,000 students at the University of Hawaii marched on the state capitol in Honolulu March 4. The three-mile march was called to protest proposed cuts of nearly 14 percent in the \$114 million budget requested by the board of regents.

Chuck Norwood, student body president at the University of Hawaii Manoa campus, told the cheering protesters that students and teachers would hold the legislators "accountable at the polls" if they approved the cuts. Students say the original budget was already "spartan."

**BERNAL TOUR POSTPONED:** The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has announced that it has postponed the tour scheduled for exiled Panamanian activist Miguel Antonio Bernal. Mike Kelly, USLA executive secretary, said the group hopes to reschedule Bernal's tour for sometime later this year.

**'BREAD AND ROSES' BOOKSHOP ATTACKED:** In the predawn hours of February 25, the windows of the Bread and Roses Bookshop in San Jose were riddled with bullets. The bookshop specializes in literature on the labor, Black, Chicano, and women's movements. It was a ticket outlet for a benefit concert for Chilean refugees held the previous evening.

Bread and Roses owner Bob Lindsay condemned the attack at a March 1 news conference also attended by Bettina Aptheker, Santa Clara County chairperson of the Communist party. Lindsay charged that Chilean right-wing terrorists were responsible for the attack. He demanded an immediate federal investigation.

San Jose Socialist Workers party candidates George Johnson and Bill Hutton issued a statement supporting Lindsay's demand. The socialists called on all supporters of democratic rights to unite in condemning the attack.

**'TERRORISM' TASK FORCE ISSUES WARNING:** The U.S. government knows better than anyone else what attacks it is planning on workers' rights and living standards. So it is concerned with how to handle the inevitable protests against these policies. This is the background to a report released March 2 by the government Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. The report warns that "the present tranquility" should not be taken as "a sign that disorder in the United States is a thing of the past. Many of the traditional indicators for disorders are clearly present and need but little stimulus to activate them."

The report continues, "There is little of an insurrectionary nature about present domestic terrorism and slight prospect that it will develop into a regular form of guerrilla warfare."

Nonetheless, the Task Force, headed by former Washington, D.C. Police Chief Jerry Wilson, published 660 pages of standards and goals for local authorities to use in putting down future "disorders."

**NUCLEAR POWER FOES SCORE IN VERMONT:** On March 1 residents of thirty-six Vermont towns discussed resolutions banning the construction of atomic power plants and the transportation and storage of nuclear waste within their borders. The discussions took place during Vermont's annual town meetings. Thirty-five of the towns approved the resolutions. The Vermont Public Research Interest Group, a statewide consumer lobby, is spearheading the campaign against nuclear power.

**ANOTHER ANTI-ERA LIE EXPOSED:** Phyllis Schlafly, national leader of Stop ERA, preaches that the Equal Rights Amendment would reduce the "superior benefits" she claims women enjoy over men. Schlafly says, for example, that under ERA "the wife can lose her present homemaker's Social Security benefits (because men don't get equal 'homemaker' benefits)."

In fact, passage of the ERA would mean an expansion of Social Security rights for women. A case in point is a March 2 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that struck down a discriminatory provision in the Social Security Act. The provision required widowers to prove they were financially dependent on their wives before they could collect survivors' benefits. Widows had the "superior benefit" of not having to supply such proof in order to collect.

In reality this "benefit" meant that the wages working women had sunk into the Social Security system were often simply stolen from them, rather than paid out to their husbands.

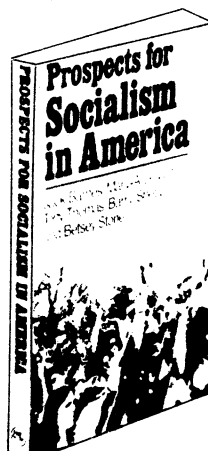
The Supreme Court's new ruling means that \$200 million or more per year in benefits will be paid to 290,000 elderly men. Attorneys say this gain would have come much sooner under the ERA.

**A TAXING NOTE:** Two hundred thirty of the 34,121 Americans who reported incomes of \$200,000 or more in 1975 paid no federal income taxes. How did these wealthy individuals avoid paying taxes? Apparently by being wealthy.

According to a special Treasury Department analysis, of the \$109.8 million in deductions claimed by the rich in 1974, \$88.6 million was for interest paid on loans for investment purposes. The next biggest category was \$15.8 million for miscellaneous deductions such as business expenses, charity, and similar items. —Peter Seidman

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# NARAL calls for actions on Mother's Day

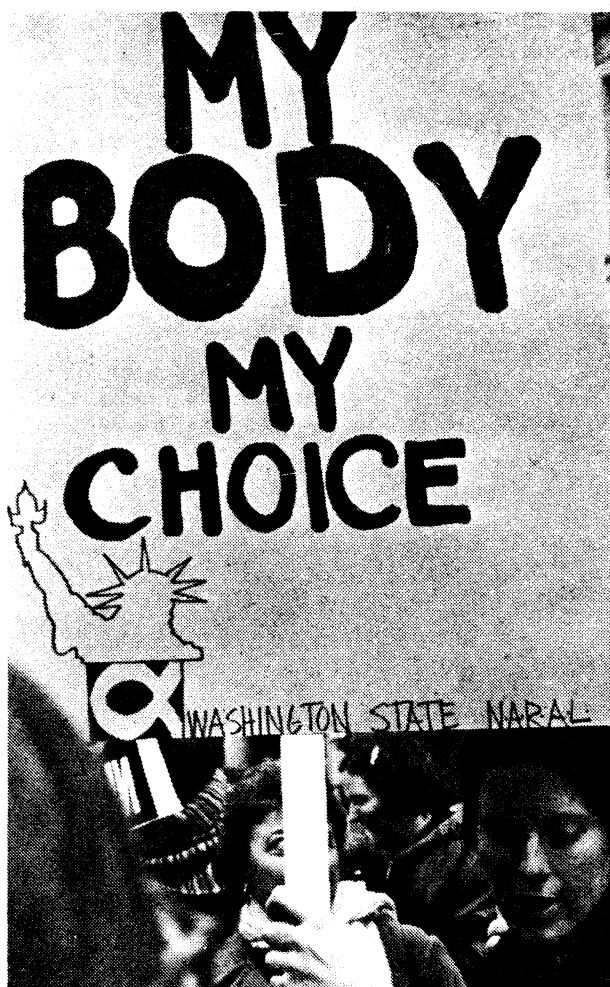
WASHINGTON—The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) has called for local demonstrations in defense of abortion rights on Mother's Day, May 8.

Plans for a Mother's Day action in Washington, D.C., were announced by the newly formed Motherhood by Choice Coalition at a March 8 picket line here. Seventy-five protesters marched in front of the offices of Joseph Califano, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Demonstrators carried signs saying, "Califano discriminates against poor women" and "Children by choice, not by lack of money." Califano actively supports the Hyde amendment, Congress's attempt to ban Medicaid-funded abortions. The Supreme Court will now decide if such discrimination can be legislated.

Abortion rights supporters fear that Congress will attach another Hyde amendment to the new HEW appropriations bill when it comes up for vote later this spring.

The May demonstration at the White House will mobilize opposition to this scheme. The action will also demand disability benefits for all pregnant workers.



Militant/Wayne Glover

# CLUW blasts attacks on abortion rights

At its February 5-6 meeting in Philadelphia, the National Executive Board of the Coalition of Labor Union Women adopted the following resolution.

Whereas, the Supreme Court decision of January 1973 establishing the legal right to abortion was a landmark victory for women's rights and working women's rights in particular, and;

Whereas, safe abortion, always available to rich women, was thereby made available to all women—through medical plans and Medicaid, and;

Whereas, the Hyde amendment to the Labor-HEW [Health, Education and Welfare] appropriations bill voids all Medicaid funds for abortion;

Therefore be it resolved:

First, that CLUW reaffirm and make known its unconditional support to women's right to abortion and its opposition to any constitutional amendment against this right, and;

Second, that CLUW make known its opposition to the Hyde amendment, and;

Third, that CLUW urge the labor movement to take action to block any such anti-abortion moves and to defend legal abortion.

## Strategy discussion in NOW

### 'We have to begin depending on ourselves'

By Nancy Cole

"Congress tried to take away the right of Black women to abortion with the Hyde amendment. They said you have the right if you can afford it.

"And that's just part of the attack on women, especially Black and other nationally oppressed women. We don't know what could be next.

"But we can't build the women's movement to answer these attacks unless we include the most oppressed. Black women have nothing to lose and everything to gain."

That's the response of Rhonda Rutherford to a discussion now beginning in the National Organization for Women. Rutherford is a member of the Philadelphia chapter.

NOW—the largest feminist group in the country—has scheduled its annual national conference for Detroit April 21-24. Considering the recent onslaught against women's rights, many NOW members think this year's decisions on the group's national priorities will be crucial for the women's movement as a whole.

Rutherford and another Philadelphian, Clare Fraenzl, the chapter's vice-president for liaison, have initiated a resolution for discussion before and at the conference. More than eighty NOW members initially signed their proposal. (See March 4 *Militant* for text.)

"These attacks hit hardest at working women, especially Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native Americans," the resolution explains. "... In fact, the attacks are aimed at dividing women along economic and racial lines. ...

"NOW needs to discuss and develop a strategy for uniting women and our supporters to fight back," the resolution urges.

Gail Baier, president of San Antonio NOW, agrees. She is a signer of the resolution. "San Antonio is 53 percent Mexican-American, while the NOW membership doesn't reflect that in any way," Baier told the *Militant*.

#### Main priority

Baier thinks the proposal is important because it aims to make NOW's main priority defending the rights of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other nationally oppressed women.

Kathleen Beasley has been a steelworker at Baltimore's Sparrows Point plant for twenty-four years. She supports the resolution because of its emphasis on defending the rights of poor women. "That's the area I'm most concerned with," she says.

Beasley would also like to see NOW set employment issues as some of its national priorities—for example, defense of affirmative-action gains and maternity benefits.

While Beasley's local chapter has supported her efforts in fighting on-the-job discrimination, "NOW doesn't include employment issues when it sets national goals."

Resolution sponsor Clare Fraenzl believes that women in NOW "see the need for a full discussion on perspectives for our organization."

Fraenzl is convinced that recent defeats for the Equal Rights Amendment at the hands of once "friendly" Democrats have forced women in NOW to question the group's strategy.

"The resolution has generated discussion about the lessons of the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the women's suffrage movement," she reports.

"Women are interested in how those movements won victories and how we can apply those lessons to our struggle today."

#### Springfield march

Several of the proposal's signers, when interviewed by the *Militant*, mentioned a more recent lesson: the lesson of the NOW-sponsored march on Springfield, Illinois, last May 16. More than 8,000 demonstrated that day in support of the ERA.

"The mobilization in Illinois was well done, well handled, and had an impact," says San Antonio's Baier.

Diane Bull was an organizer of the East Coast "Freedom Train" that carried ERA supporters to the Springfield march. She is on the state executive committee of Pennsylvania NOW and a signer of the resolution.

"We need once again to remind the whole country that there are a hell of a lot of us out here who aren't crazy, who are the majority, who are concerned about people's civil rights. One of the most effective ways to do that is to show our strength."

Toledo NOW projected coordinator Karen Thaller is impressed with the resolution's "commitment to action."

"It spells out what we can do, how we can do it, and when we can do it," she says.

Eileen Foley is coordinator of New York City's International Women's Day Coalition. She too is most interested by the "aspect of the resolution that calls for visible demonstrations of the kind of strength the women's movement really does have."

"I think people in NOW are ready for this kind of vision of what has to be done," she concludes.

#### Louisville discussion

According to Carole Coates, ERA Task Force director for Louisville NOW, the discussion in her chapter has focused on reaching out to working

and Black women.

"Some said that we had talked about this before and it hadn't been successful," Coates told the *Militant*. "But we decided we hadn't gone about it right. That is, we need to reach these women where they are and with the issues that most directly affect them."

She believes the chapter is moving in that direction, as shown by the program Louisville NOW was planning for March 8. "A General Electric worker will speak on pregnancy benefits. One woman will address abortion rights. Another, the problems of child care. And so on. We involved speakers from community groups, as well as those representing NOW."

"The other side was how to get women there—women who have never been to an event like this before. We leafleted plants where women work. We went to grocery stores and community action centers in the Black community. We posted Planned Parenthood centers and abortion clinics. We advertised where we never had before."

Rutherford believes the entire organization "must reassess the way to reach out to women."

"We have to educate women that these attacks affect all of us. And then we'll be able to mobilize and show our strength."

"We have to begin depending on ourselves."



Militant/Pat Hayes

Resolution for NOW conference urges main priority be to defend rights of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American, and working women.



Students in Soweto burn school books in demonstration last month against Bantu Education.

**Khotso Seatlholo** was the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council from late August 1976 until he was forced to flee South Africa in January 1977. Together with Tsietshi Mashinini, another leader of the mass student protests who is also living in exile, Seatlholo is currently on a speaking tour of the United States. The tour is being cosponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism and the International Defense Aid Fund.

The following interview with Seatlholo was obtained in New York City February 24.

*Question. How was the Students Representative Council formed and around what issues has it mobilized students?*

*Answer.* According to the constitution of the Black Consciousness movement, the organizations of that movement are not supposed to organize strikes and demonstrations. But there had to be a direct body to organize strikes and demonstrations. So the SRC came into being. The main organizer was Tsietshi Mashinini, and I assisted him. The students in each high school and in each junior secondary school sent two representatives. Tsietshi Mashinini was elected the first president of the SRC on August 2, 1976, the same day that we called a demonstration for August 4.

The main demands that we raised were for the release of all detainees and for the scrapping of Bantu Education. The first demonstration in June was against the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction. The authorities gave in and dropped Afrikaans, saying that it would be optional. The fact that they dropped Afrikaans showed that the demonstration was justified. But why, if the demonstration was justified, do the people still have to be detained? So we started to organize ourselves to fight for their release because they were right.

*Q. How did the SRC organize these demonstrations?*

A. The demonstrations were not publicized. We would just inform reporters the day before that there would be a demonstration. We would also tell the students the day before the demonstration. We would approve the demonstrations about a week or ten days before the actual date.

*Q. During the first stay-at-home strike in August of last year, the police*

*were able to provoke some of the Zulu migrant workers to attack the students. But during the second strike in September we heard that the Zulu migrants joined in. How were they won over to the struggle?*

A. The migrant workers are brought specifically to Soweto just to serve as laborers. The system capitalized on the fact that we were asking people not to go to work. They told the migrants, "These people are stopping you from going to work. Now what are you going to eat?" I personally saw a white policeman addressing them.

We later managed to cool the situation off by issuing another pamphlet in Zulu, in South Sotho, and in English. Also, the man that they regard as their leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, came and addressed them. It's not that he assisted a lot, but that the pamphlets we circulated around helped in calming the situation. The workers understood clearly what the motives were behind the stay-aways. They then supported the stay-aways and made sure that nobody went to work.

*Q. How successful were the strikes?*

A. The first strike was about 70 percent successful in Soweto. And then the second one in Soweto again was about 80 percent and in Cape Town about 70 percent.

*Q. One reporter here has described the SRC as being "almost a shadow government" in Soweto. How much influence does it have over the population as a whole?*

A. It is true that the Soweto Students Representative Council has become the shadow government. Most of the people, if they want to do something that has to do with politics, consult with the SRC members. The people want guidance and the Black students can give them guidance. In that way the SRC has become the "government."

The SRC has also spread to other cities. It is on a countrywide basis. But there is some difficulty in the Orange Free State, where the people are extremely poor and are predominantly rural. They are so suppressed that they can do very little. It is the only part of the country where the SRC doesn't have influence.

*Q. We understand that you were in South Africa as recently as January. What's the political situation there now? Have the protests that began last June continued?*

A. The protests have continued since

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

## A talk with Khotso Seatlholo

*threat to the government's apartheid policies?*

A. According to the stipulations of the Bantu affairs minister and the prime minister, Blacks have got to live in their areas and attend schools in their areas and whites must attend in their areas. Now this is a threat to the government because it is some sort of desegregation and the government doesn't want to see that. It is a real threat to them. That is why they are fighting it.

*Q. What is the repression now like in South Africa?*

A. The kind of suppression that is always used is with guns—automatic rifles or Sten guns. They use very heavy bullets. I knew a person who was blown off. A bullet entered his forehead and when it went outside it made a hole that was about six centimeters in radius.

The police move around like mercenaries, shooting anybody that they feel like. It serves to intimidate people, who have to keep indoors to avoid getting shot. They also detain a lot of people and kill some in detention. Once you are taken into detention, you get beaten up until perhaps you die, or if you are lucky you come out crippled.

It has been realized by the government that students are really powerful. If we are not in school, and move about freely, we can be a real threat to them. So what they have now decided is to make sure that during certain prescribed hours everyone of school age must be in school. So if you are not at school, you get arrested and beaten up. You are an "agitator," whether you are a student or not. If you are not a student you must stay indoors at home, or you can be shot or arrested and beaten up.

*Q. How has the repression hit the SRC itself?*

A. The repression has not affected the SRC in a major way. But they have arrested some executive members of the SRC and some have been shot or are not in a position to operate. Otherwise the SRC is strong. It has resumed its activities and has gained more strength. It will continue all the way.

*Q. Besides the specific demands that the SRC has raised in relation to detainees and Bantu Education, what are the general aims that Black students in South Africa are fighting for?*

A. Personally, I realize that the people who are detained will never be released unless the government is overthrown. Bantu Education will not be scrapped unless the government is overthrown.

The actual idea that the students now have is not to dethrone the government, but to fight for their

I went out of the country. Recently, the students have again demonstrated and burned their books, because they do not want to write Bantu Education examinations. The main demands that we raised were that we don't want Bantu Education and that we want the release of all the detainees. Since some of the detainees have not been released, we feel we must continue our demonstrations. Since Bantu Education has not been dropped, we can't do otherwise than to continue demonstrating and protesting.

*Q. Could you describe the government's Bantu Education policy?*

A. Bantu Education is a type of education that is designed to domesticate Blacks. When it was introduced by Verwoerd, who was then minister of Bantu affairs, he said something along the line that "I am going to introduce the type of education that will make the Black man a better slave for the white man." This type of education tries to domesticate us and make us ignorant of the outside world. Fortunately, we managed to see through this very same Bantu Education. There is a saying that when it is dark enough, you can see the stars. We managed to see that it was a poison and we are now fighting it.

*Q. There has recently been a controversy between the Catholic church and the government in South Africa over allowing Blacks to go to private Catholic schools. Do you see that as a*



Militant/Susan Ellis

KHOTSO SEATLHOLO, former president of Soweto Students Representative Council.



rights. It's just like the civil rights movement here in America. They don't aim to overthrow the government, but the government calls them "terrorists" and "communists" anyway.

The living conditions in South Africa are very bad. You can find a family of thirteen living in a four-room house. The father gets paid wages of about 16 rand [about US\$20] a week and that is not enough for him to keep the family alive. You find many youths becoming thugs, pickpocketing and the like. The economic situation causes the violence and juvenile delinquency. They do not steal because they like to steal, but if they want something there is no other way to get it.

Unemployment has grown very high and it is still rising.

*Q. Do you think that the regime's Bantustan policy will be successful in dividing the struggle?*

A. From my point of view, the people know that they belong to South Africa and not to any Bantustan that the white man prescribes for them. The government has gone to great lengths to divide the people. But the people know one thing: that even though they are separated, they are one. Unfortunately for the system, it won't succeed.

*Q. Have the recent struggles also had an impact on the Indian and Coloured populations?*

A. They had an effect, because in Cape Town Africans demonstrated along with Coloureds. The Indians didn't participate much, but Coloureds have participated a lot in organizing stay-away strikes and mass demonstrations with Africans, as well as on their own. Coloureds are considered Blacks. According to Black Consciousness, Black is a state of mind, the condition under which we live. We regard Coloureds, Africans, and Indians as Blacks.

*Q. Do the students who participated in the protests generally look to the Black Consciousness movement for inspiration?*

A. They look to the SRC, and the SRC is the product of the Black Consciousness movement. That would mean that they are looking upward to the Black Consciousness movement.

*Q. Could you describe the origins of the Black Consciousness movement?*

A. The Black Consciousness movement came about in 1968. And it was formed in this way:

I know very little of the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress. All I know is that they did a lot of work before they were banned in the 1960s. After they were banned, there was almost a political vacuum. Some other types of methods had to be used, because you couldn't identify yourself as ANC, because ANC was banned. So in 1968, SASO, the South African Students Organisation, was formed on the university level. Then there was also the Black People's Convention among the parents' community and the South African Student Movement on the high-school level. And also the Black Women's Federation among women.

Black Consciousness preaches awareness among people. You ask yourself, "Why am I not allowed to enter into that cafe with a white man, although I have the same appetite?" Black Consciousness shows you how much you are discriminated against. As you start realizing this, you become conscious of your Black color—whether you are African, Coloured, or Indian—and the state in which you live.

*Q. Has the Black struggle in the United States had an influence in South Africa?*

A. The South Africans know very little of the struggle in America,

because of the censorship in South Africa. But at least to an extent we have been able to get books such as those written by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and others. But only a very few people get a chance to read such books.

*Q. How many students have been forced to flee into exile?*

A. The total number that I estimate since June 16 of last year could be about 2,000. Most of them have passed through Botswana and Swaziland to other countries. At the present moment there are about 500 students in Botswana and about 300 in Swaziland.

All of those students are just idling about, doing nothing except to read and move around the streets. There is very little life there. Their living conditions are poor. They must share clothes, food, and the lofts in which they sleep. They get only about \$20 a month. And that's very little for them to live on. They need a lot of help. Some of them want to go to school, but there are no scholarships.

*Q. Are the exiles harassed by South African agents, the BOSS—the Bureau of State Security?*

A. They have specific people they are looking for and are trying to kidnap. I have already heard about two kidnap attempts. The BOSS agents tried to kidnap them at night, but failed. There are specific people they want to kidnap, who they know have information or who they think they can use effectively as state witnesses against our parents.

*Q. Is there much organization among the exiled students?*

A. There is organization to a certain extent. There are those who identify themselves with the SRC at home, with the BPC at home, with SASO at home. But all in all, it is just the Black Consciousness movement. The Black Consciousness movement is a sort of federation of the SRC, SASO, and BPC. They come together and are one. There is organization to that extent.

*Q. In November, Jimmy Carter said in an interview published in Johannesburg that he favored more U.S. investments in South Africa, claiming that American businessmen could be a "constructive force achieving racial justice." What do you think of the role of foreign investments in South Africa?*

A. I remember one American industrialist who said, "There are more profits in South Africa because apartheid provides us with cheap labor." I don't think this type of setup can help the Black people of South Africa. It exploits them more and more and they are ill paid. If they fight for their rights, America tries to protect its interests in South Africa. And by protecting them it is fighting against the Black people.

The information that we get is that Washington supports the South African regime by giving them arms. It also has some economic interests. But the main thing that we are concerned about is the military aid that they are giving to South Africa. Because by giving South Africa military aid, they are destroying us indirectly.

*Q. What do you hope to accomplish during the speaking tour you are making in the United States?*

A. What I hope to achieve by the tour that I am embarking on is to let the people of America know what is actually happening and what their government is doing to kill us at home. They must organize in such a way that the American government will not do what it is doing. They must organize demonstrations against the aid that is being given to the South African regime.

# West Coast NSCAR meets in Bay Area

By Kathleen Shields

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 100 student leaders gathered at San Francisco State University March 4 and 5 for the first West Coast steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Representatives of SCAR chapters came from Los Angeles; San Diego; Portland, Oregon; Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; and the San Francisco Bay Area.

A Friday night rally attended by 175 people kicked off the meeting. Featured speakers were Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement; Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator; Lee Brightman, chairperson of the United Native Americans; and Dr. Harry Edwards, a Black sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Edwards was recently denied tenure by the Berkeley administration.

Other rally speakers included Michael Johnson, Northern California director of the United Farm Workers boycott; Ahimsa Sunchai, member of the Alliance for Responsible Employment and Admissions Policies; and Randy Stallings, Northern California Coalition Against the Death Penalty.

At the Saturday steering committee meeting, discussion centered on SCAR's campaign against U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in southern Africa.

The steering committee discussed recent attacks on school desegregation in Los Angeles and other West Coast cities. Participants also assessed the national implications of the California Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case, which threatens special minority admissions programs at state universities.

In handing down that decision, the California court ruled that Allan Bakke, a white applicant to the University of California at Davis medical school, had been discriminated against because of the school's quotas for minority student enrollment. The U.S. Supreme Court has recently agreed to hear the case.

## National perspectives

Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator, presented a national perspectives report.

He singled out NSCAR's southern Africa campaign as the major activity for SCAR chapters this spring. "Blacks in the U.S. share a common oppressor with Blacks in southern Africa," he said.

"The civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements provide powerful ex-

amples of the kind of movement needed to get the U.S. out of southern Africa.

"This movement has to be massive, all-inclusive, and independent of the Democrats and Republicans."

Austin said that this first West Coast steering committee meeting was an important step forward for NSCAR. "Because NSCAR was formed in Boston," he explained, "and because most of its national gatherings were held on the East Coast, it has been difficult for West Coast SCAR chapters to be actively involved in them."

"But this meeting marks a big step forward in another way as well. It reflects the increased activity of SCAR's West Coast chapters and begins to meet the need for increased collaboration and discussion among these chapters."

Austin urged SCAR activists to use their campuses to enlist other opponents of the white minority regimes in building the movement against U.S. complicity.

## Mashinini tour

"This has already begun to happen," Austin said, "through building the West Coast tour of Tsietshi Mashinini." Mashinini is a leader of last summer's Soweto rebellion in South Africa.

"Through the tour," Austin said, "SCAR chapters have begun to reach out to unions, Black community organizations, civil rights groups, and others."

In San Francisco Mashinini will speak before a high school city-wide program March 18. In Oakland he will be the featured speaker at a rally to demand an end to Oakland's investments in South Africa. The city government has invested \$16 million in companies operating in South Africa.

Willie Petty from Los Angeles SCAR outlined the current status of the school desegregation struggle in that city. He reported on the February 12 prodesegregation march and rally that drew 1,600 people.

"This march points the way to what has to be done," Petty said. "By mobilizing supporters of school desegregation, we will win equal access to education for Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and other oppressed minorities."

## Bakke ruling

Reiko Obata, a member of SCAR at UC Berkeley, reported on the fight to reverse the Bakke decision.

"This is the first time that the concept of 'reverse discrimination' has

*Continued on page 30*

## March 25-26 protests

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has produced this new poster to publicize the tours of Soweto student leaders Tsietshi Ma-

shinini and Khotso Seatsholo, and to build support for the March 25-26 protest against U.S. complicity with the racist southern African regimes.

Also available from NSCAR are a new issue of the *Student Mobilizer* newspaper; fact sheets on U.S. complicity; and buttons to help publicize the March 25-26 actions.

Send the coupon below to: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ "U.S. out of southern Africa! Protest March 25-26" buttons. (35 cents each for 10 or more. \$1 for 1.)

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National Student Coalition Against Racism  
\* International Defence Fund

# Gov't drops charges in Manzo counseling case



VINDICATED (from left to right): Cathy Montaño, Sister Ann Gabriel Marciacq, Marguerita Ramírez, and Margo Cowan.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On March 8 the federal government dropped all charges against the Manzo defendants, following an agreement between the defense and prosecution.

Last October the government had charged four women who work with the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona, with numerous felonies for counseling immigrants without residence visas. The council is a social service agency in that city's Chicano barrio.

Margo Cowan, a codefendant and director of the Manzo center, called the outcome a victory. She told the *Militant* that the agreement permits the center to continue counseling undocumented workers as it has done in the past.

The government's prosecution, if successful, would have shut down immigration counseling centers throughout the country. These centers help undocumented people who have "equity"—a basis for legalizing their status—to obtain residence permits.

The case had become a focal point of the government's campaign to turn immigrants without visas into an untouchable caste with no rights and no hope of obtaining any.

If the government now abides by the agreement to let counseling services continue, this outcome will represent a step forward in the fight for full human and civil rights for undocumented workers.

The Manzo case began April 9, 1976, when the assistant U.S. attorney for Arizona accompanied by nine Border Patrol cops, swooped down on the offices of the Manzo Area Council.

Armed with a warrant, they seized Manzo's files, including records of both immigration and nonimmigration cases the agency was handling.

The government justified the raid by claiming the agency was engaged in welfare and food stamp fraud and that it was helping "illegal aliens" obtain benefits they weren't entitled to.

After a grand jury probe, these charges were dropped. Meanwhile, the government deported 150 people whose names were in the files.

Last October a federal grand jury indicted four Manzo workers on twenty-five charges, ranging from "conspiracy" to "transporting" an alien.

And to bolster their case, federal authorities issued a sweeping directive in January to the agency that provides part of Manzo's funds. The order said it was illegal for any agency to counsel undocumented persons without first requiring them to report to immigration authorities.

The government told the Manzo

defendants that if they agreed to abide by this directive, it would drop the charges.

Two defendants—Sister Ann Gabriel Marciacq and Marguerita Ramírez—accepted this offer. Sister Ann Gabriel had already been withdrawn by her religious superiors from activity at Manzo. Ramírez, a clerical worker at Manzo, agreed to continue at Manzo in that capacity only.

Margo Cowan and the fourth defendant, Cathy Montaño, refused to accept the proposal, and more negotiations followed.

On March 3, Cowan announced at a news conference that agreement had been reached and that charges would be dropped soon. She released a statement that said, in part:

"The agreement essentially states that Manzo is free to continue our immigration counseling service as it is, that our program will obey a [new] directive issued by the U.S. attorney's office, and that Manzo does not agree with the directive and is committed to having it revoked. . . .

"On January 25, 1977, the U.S. attorney issued a directive to the Committee for Economic Opportunity in an effort to force the defendants to sign an agreement that would severely restrict immigration counseling at Manzo.

"The desired result has not come about. The CEO does not recognize or respect the directive as issued.

"Neither CEO nor CSA [Community Services Agency], our funding sources, has instructed Manzo to obey the directive. . . .

"The agreement is little more than a face-saving guise for the government. . . .

"Manzo has never in the past—and will never in the future—reveal any client information to any law enforcement agency without the express written consent of the client.

"Today is a real victory for poor people everywhere and a vibrant reaffirmation of counseling services for our undocumented brothers and sisters."

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Cowan said that Manzo "will proceed as we always have, giving counsel to people with and without documents."

Asked if the agreement could in any way require Manzo workers to turn people in, Cowan replied, "No. We would never do that."

Cowan also said that the Manzo Area Council intends to continue with its damage suit against the agencies involved in the raid on their office. She reported that a U.S. judge has agreed that it could be made a class-action suit on behalf of affected Manzo clients.

# Carter, Lopez Portillo discuss deportations

By Eugenia Aranda

The following is from the March 7 *Perspectiva Mundial*, a socialist newsmagazine published every other week in New York. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

On February 14, Mexican President José López Portillo began a series of meetings in Washington with U.S. President Jimmy Carter. According to press reports, the topics discussed in these talks were Mexican-U.S. trade relations, the traffic in drugs and arms, the illegal immigration of Mexican workers to the United States, and the American smugglers who are being held in Mexican jails. Also discussed were the Panama Canal and American relations with Cuba.

The main point was the reference to the Mexican workers who are in the United States without immigration papers—the so-called illegal aliens. This was no accident.

The manner in which the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service—better known as "la migra"—harasses and plagues Mexican workers who find it necessary to seek employment north of the border has been a scandal for several years. In Mexico the discontent with this situation is growing, and the government can no longer remain silent about it.

But there are other things as well that have motivated the Mexican regime to try to regulate the deportation of Mexican workers from the U.S.

Of course is it not a matter of seeking to defend Mexicans; the government doesn't do this on either side of the border. Rather it wants to assure that the deportations are not so massive as to cause even more economic difficulties for the Mexican capitalists. This is not a simple problem. The Mexican rulers want to avoid exacerbating the inevitable discontent that results when more than one-third of the labor force in Mexico—more than five million persons—are either unemployed or underemployed (which amounts to the same thing). In addition, some 800,000 youths enter the work force each year, of which only a small fraction find work.

Without the escape valve provided by the United States, the situation would soon be explosive, and neither López Portillo nor Carter wants this.

The fact that Mexicans must seek work in the United States is immensely profitable for the American growers and industrialists. In this way they can count on having labor available at much lower wages than they pay to workers who are citizens or "legal." Having immigration papers results in very different working and living condi-



JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

tions for the workers.

But the growers also seek to insure that the labor market is not oversaturated, and above all that "la migra" throws out the Mexican workers when this is convenient to the landlords. In this way they exercise even greater control over the Mexican workers.

So what López Portillo wants is nothing more than to negotiate with Washington about the number of Mexican workers to be deported.

The New York *Daily News* reported on the negotiations between Carter and López Portillo on February 16: "Lopez Portillo, who met with President Carter on Monday and again yesterday, said the flow of desperately poor Mexican 'wetbacks' into the U.S. was directly related to Mexico's economic problems. He said these problems resulted in part from U.S. policies which restrict imports from Mexico and help maintain low world prices for raw materials."

This makes everything much clearer: López Portillo's proposal for resolving the problems of the workers—contemptuously referred to as "wetbacks"—is that Washington accept increases in the prices of raw materials. But his solution has one flaw. The beneficiaries of the export of Mexican products and of price increases will not be the workers but the capitalists—Mexican or of some other nationality—who take in the profits from these exports.

The fraud of the supposed interest of the Mexican government in helping the Mexican workers who live in the United States cannot be covered up. These workers really have only one way of defending themselves against the attacks of "la migra" and the growers: basing themselves on their own strength and their own massive mobilization, independent of the Mexican and American governments.

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## Abel wishes he could 'start over'

# Central Michigan Univ. spied on YSA for feds

By Diane Wang

Harold Abel seems to "wish he could go back to Oct. 18 and start again," according to a recent article in the *Detroit Free Press*.

Abel is president of Central Michigan University (CMU) in Mt. Pleasant.

October 18 is the day that three members of the Young Socialist Alliance—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—arrived on campus to distribute campaign material for Socialist Workers party candidates in the November election.

Two days later Abel ordered campus cops to arrest the three socialists while they were handing out materials and selling political literature outside a public lecture at CMU.

Douglas, Garrison, and Smith were charged with criminal trespass and disrupting university functions. Each faces a possible six months in jail and \$1,650 fine.

Abel began to "wish he could go back and start again" early this month, when the YSA made public eighteen pages of FBI reports it had obtained through a lawsuit against government harassment and spying.

The files show that for at least five years—from 1971 through 1975—the FBI compiled political dossiers on CMU students who were in the YSA.

CMU's campus cops admitted that they provided the information for the political files. The *Daily Times News* in Mt. Pleasant reported that "officials of CMU's Department of Public Safety said FBI monitoring of student activities was commonplace. John McAuliffe, director of the Department of Public Safety, scoffed at the use of the word spying and downplayed reports, saying the FBI called them for information on many occasions."

### What's in files

The FBI records include lists of CMU YSA members.

One 1974 memo reported, "Several of the members were seniors this year and may have graduated this month." The memo continued, "[deleted] will obtain a list of the local members who graduated." Apparently FBI files on those socialists followed them after they left CMU.

The files reported on legal political activities. "[deleted] advised that the reported leader of YSA, RICHARD ROPER, handed out leaflets at a concert by the 'Beachboys' on CMU campus 4/24/72, advising of a march to protest the escalation of the war in Vietnam."

A 1971 memo reported, "Investigation at CMU has revealed that the name of the YSA appeared on a notice during early part of this month, announcing a lecture on the Israel and



CMU's HAROLD ABEL: "Nothing could have surprised me more than the charge we were interfering with free speech. . . . I see that now."

Arab Revolution."

The FBI memos themselves admit that "the YSA has not been known to . . . participate in disruptive or subversive activities in the Mt. Pleasant area."

### Where files stop

According to the *Daily Times News* Abel "said he was surprised to hear the reports of FBI surveillance but was pleased that the FBI files did not indicate the YSA was harassed by the University administration."

But Val Drott, chairperson of the YSA chapter at CMU, disagrees. At a Detroit press conference March 2, Drott charged, "The full scope of the FBI's activity on the CMU campus has yet to be uncovered. The files available now tell what is probably just one small part of the story, and perhaps the least damaging part as far as the FBI is concerned."

The press conference, held at the offices of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union, was attended by several local television and radio stations, the *CMU Life*, and the major Detroit daily the *Free Press*.

Drott told reporters that within weeks after the last report in the FBI files, the CMU administration had banned sales of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers during all but six hours of the school week and at all but one place on campus.

In 1975 when Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*, spoke at CMU, the administration refused to let the YSA display and sell Reed's book at her lecture.

"The FBI is not above the dirtiest of 'dirty tricks' in attempting to stifle political freedom on campus," Drott said. "Apparently CMU officials share the FBI's attitude toward free speech."

At the newsconference the Michigan ACLU charged, "The documents give only a partial record of events, but they do appear to indicate that the integrity of the University, as well as the liveliness of academic and intellectual life, may have been another victim of government spying."

Mt. Pleasant City Commissioner Carol Scherer released a statement saying, "I do not believe any one person or any group of people such as the administrators at Central Michigan University should be able to deny Americans their constitutional right of freedom of expression."

### Feds in on arrest?

Joyce Pillote, a CMU faculty member named in the FBI files, pointed to the most recent incident of university harassment. "These documents," Pillote suggested, "also raise serious questions about FBI collaboration with the CMU administration in the prosecution of three YSA members . . . for political activity on campus last fall."

Until recently CMU President Harold Abel vigorously defended the arrest. He portrayed the socialists as outside agitators looking for trouble.

"They sought confrontation," Abel declared, "and I attempted to avoid it. . . . There came a point where I decided the time had come."

But Democratic and Republican party candidates had campaigned on the CMU campus last fall, just as the YSA members did. Yet they were not arrested. Despite this, Abel insisted that the YSA arrests were not politically motivated.

### A changing tune

But release of the political files compiled by the FBI with CMU's help has embarrassed Abel.

"Nothing could have surprised me more than the charge we were interfering with free speech," Abel told a *Detroit Free Press* reporter early this month. "Don't misunderstand me. I see that now."

Abel told the reporter that the revelation of FBI files "certainly puts [the YSA] concern in a different perspective."

It's not just the FBI files that have forced Abel to admit that free speech is at issue. The Committee for Free Speech has been organizing a nationwide defense of the three YSA members. The Committee has flooded Abel's office with protests from organizations and prominent individuals.

The National Student Association, journalist I.F. Stone, Rosalie Sullivan of the Detroit National Organization for Women, and Joe Madison of the Detroit NAACP are some of the hundreds who have demanded that charges against the YSA members be dropped.

The YSA has also taken the university to federal court, with the help of Detroit attorney Ron Reosti and the Michigan ACLU. The YSA lawsuit charges that CMU regulations limiting political activity on campus are unconstitutional.

The nationwide protests, YSA lawsuit—and now the FBI files—have put the CMU administration on the spot.

The *Detroit Free Press* quoted Abel, "If someone came in here and said they wanted to talk about this and asked 'Would you drop the charges?' I'd say, 'Yes, would you drop the lawsuit?'"

However, CMU attorney J. David Kerr advised Abel not to make such an offer to the YSA. So far, the administration has said nothing about dropping charges to the YSA's attorneys.

## Defend free speech!

The Committee for Free Speech is organizing the defense of three Young Socialist Alliance members arrested for distributing political literature at Central Michigan University.

The committee seeks sponsorship and help from supporters of civil liberties across the country.

The committee's sponsors include MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky; Joe Madison of the Detroit NAACP; journalist I. F. Stone; Rosalie Sullivan of the Detroit National Organization for Women; civil rights leader Robert F. Williams; and Malcolm Wright, executive vice-president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers.

Return this coupon to: **Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.**

☐ Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to aid the defense.

☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the committee's brochure to distribute.

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## Political rights backers attend benefit

By Lucy Burton

NEW YORK—More than 100 people attended a benefit here at the end of February on behalf of the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government spying.

The benefit cocktail party was hosted by Bella Abzug, Edward Asner, Walter Bernstein, Ramsey Clark, Ruby Dee, Adrian DeWind, Jules Feiffer, Burton Lane, Lynn Lane, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Leonard, Diana Lewis, Kate Millett, Joseph Papp, I. F. Stone, and Chauncey L. Waddell.

The cocktail party was held at the Park Avenue home of Diana Lewis, a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is organizing support for the socialists' lawsuit.

Walter Bernstein, a 1950s blacklist

victim and screenwriter for *The Front*, introduced the program.

Leonard Boudin, the attorney who filed the lawsuit on behalf of the socialists in 1973, explained the far-reaching implications of the case. The legal challenge, he pointed out, is the first to take on government spying from the Roosevelt era to the present.

"We are challenging the CIA's attempt to remain beyond the law," Boudin told the group. He described the fight against the FBI's use of political informers.

Several other lawsuits have been inspired by the SWP's effort, Boudin said. "But the SWP suit has been before the court for three years. It is going to set the legal precedents."

After PRDF national secretary Syd Stapleton had appealed for funds,

several longtime supporters spoke out, urging everyone to contribute generously. Some \$10,000 was donated at the benefit.

Guests at the cocktail party included Louisa Calder, Hamilton Fish III, Ruth Gage-Colby, Morton Halperin, Stewart Mott, Mary Travers, and former Watergate prosecutor Richard Ben Veniste.

Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, Raza Unida party leader from Crystal City, Texas, sent a telegram expressing the RUP's support. His message expressed well the spirit of the benefit. Referring to Boudin, the telegram said, "His effort is good for us all. We wish the benefit success and victory for the lawsuit. Viva Boudin and the Political Rights Defense Fund. Venceremos."

# 'Young Socialist' sales hit 12-month high

By May Cramer

Read a good paper lately? Besides the *Militant*, that is. If not, get hold of the March *Young Socialist*.

The paper's centerspread contains a speech by Black socialist Maceo Dixon on "How to fight racism from S. Africa to the U.S."

Dixon quotes the famous Black leader Frederick Douglass: "To win our liberation it will take a struggle. It may be a moral one or a physical one. But it will be a struggle. Because without struggle there can be no progress. And without progress there can be no liberation."

Other articles in the March YS report on protests against U.S. aid to South Africa's racist regime; efforts to win freedom for Gary Tyler, the Black high school student framed for murder in Louisiana; and defending women's right to abortion.

In February members of the Young Socialist Alliance sold 5,018 copies of the YS, more than they sold during any month in 1976.

The Madison YSA chapter, for example, sold sixty-five copies at a campus meeting for feminist author Betty Friedan.

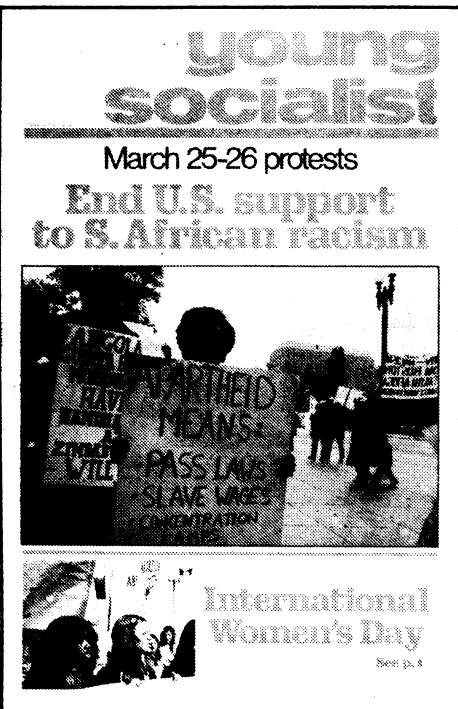
YSA members in Atlanta, Boston, Houston, and Pittsburgh who were candidates in student government elections used the YS in their campaigns.

And in Denver and Richmond, Virginia, YS readers asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

YSA chapters and at-large members hope to top February's success this month by selling 6,000 copies of the March issue.

The 6,000 goal does not include sales by ten traveling YSA teams. The teams will be on the road for eight weeks in March and April, visiting more than 100 campuses across the country. Each team plans to sell ninety copies of the YS and ninety copies of the *Militant* each week, along with other socialist literature.

If you would like to get a copy of the YS or help sell the paper, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 31. Or write to the *Young Socialist*, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



# Steel bureaucracy challenges Fight Back victories in District 31

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—The United Steelworkers bureaucracy, with the complicity of the federal Labor Department, is challenging victories by Steelworkers Fight Back in District 31 and in Local 1010—the union's largest local and a stronghold of the insurgent Fight Back movement.

The challenges are aimed at Steelworkers Fight Back Leader Jim Balanoff, who was elected president of Local 1010 last April. Balanoff was then elected District 31 director in the February 8 international union election, succeeding Fight Back presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski.

The Labor Department has sued to overturn Balanoff's election as president of Local 1010. Meanwhile two defeated candidates in the district director race have challenged the votes of nineteen locals, enough to jeopardize Balanoff's victory.

Local 1010 represents the 18,000 workers at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana. Last April Balanoff headed an insurgent slate there that toppled the incumbents by a two-to-one margin.

Shortly after overseeing and losing that election the incumbents, headed by Henry López, burned a number of unused ballots. These were supposed to be kept intact for a year after the election.

López supporter John Hurley, who ran unsuccessfully for vice-chairperson of the grievance committee, then filed a protest with the international union. He claimed destruction of the unused ballots, along with other alleged irregularities, made a new election necessary.

The international union officialdom, which had given López backhanded support, established a commission to investigate. The commission issued no report, however.

Hurley then took his case to the Labor Department, which filed suit February 22 against Balanoff's administration.

While Balanoff has been busy in negotiations with Inland Steel, acting

local President Bill Andrews told a Chicago reporter: "The people who filed the complaint are the same people who ran the election. They're filing charges against themselves."

"What happens is when incumbents see they are losing, they do something to get it thrown out," Andrews explained. "This kind of thing shouldn't be allowed, especially after they get beat so bad."

Andrews, who was elected local vice-president, will become president when Balanoff is sworn in as district director in June. He will be the first Black president of a major basic steel local in the district.

Fight Back supporters in Local 1010 have pointed to the racist overtones of Hurley's protest, which if upheld would enforce the unwritten USWA rule barring Blacks from major local presidencies.

Balanoff has noted that he offered as long ago as the USWA convention last August to hold a new election in Local 1010 to test again the sentiment of the ranks. But the bureaucracy wanted to await the outcome of the district election.

The suit will not be heard for several months in federal district court in Hammond, Indiana. Washington labor attorney Joseph Rauh will represent the Balanoff administration.

Meanwhile, Balanoff's February 8 election as director of the 120,000-member Chicago-Gary District 31 has been protested by two defeated candidates of the union bureaucracy.

Balanoff won, according to unofficial returns, with 19,000 votes, 6,000 ahead of his nearest opponent. But nineteen local union tallies, representing more than 23,000 votes, have been challenged by Harry Piasecki, former president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, and James Baker, director of Subdistrict 1 in Gary.

Piasecki is unofficially credited with some 13,000 votes while Baker, the only Black candidate in the district race, garnered close to 10,000 votes.

Piasecki and Baker are protesting the votes in Balanoff's home Local

1010, Sadlowski's home Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works, Local 1011 at Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Local 1033 at Republic Steel, among others.

The strategy behind these protests was inadvertently outlined to a local reporter by a Piasecki spokesperson: "Balanoff's plurality came from three big locals, 1010, 1011, and 65, and if these are discounted his margin of victory is only about 100 votes," he stated, according to a report by Garrett Brown in the February 26 *Daily Calumet*.

Piasecki and Baker have asked the international union to order a new election for district director. But the international could instead disqualify the contested locals' votes, giving Piasecki a small margin over Balanoff.

The union's three international tellers are supposed to investigate all charges of election violations and issue a report by May 1 to be acted on by the International Executive Board.

Balanoff says the protests over the District 31 vote are totally unfounded. They are designed, he says, to prevent him from assuming the directorship and to serve as bargaining chips to counter charges of vote fraud filed by Ed Sadlowski and his supporters.

Sadlowski has filed a comprehensive challenge to the February 8 international election, documenting widespread fraud in the South and Canada.

Balanoff noted that Steelworkers Fight Back fielded 400 election-day poll watchers throughout District 31, while the machine candidates sponsored scores of other observers.

"The election in this district was as clean as a whistle," Balanoff said, "and they know it. They're just trying to distract attention from the fraud they pulled in other districts."

These attempts to roll back gains won by Steelworkers Fight Back will show how far the bureaucracy intends to go in the post-election period in repressing opposition from the union ranks. And the fight over the challenges will be an important test of strength between the bureaucracy and Steelworkers Fight Back.

# Lloyd McBride crowns in Houston

By Marc Shaver

HOUSTON—The United Steelworkers of America District 37 conference, held here March 2-3, was exactly what District Director Ed Ball said it was: "a giant victory party" for president-elect Lloyd McBride and the USWA hierarchy.

The tone set from the speakers platform was one of undisguised jubilation at McBride's victory over Steelworkers Fight Back candidate Ed Sadlowski in the February 8 union election.

District 37—covering Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas—is one area where Fight Back charges massive vote fraud by the union apparatus. McBride came down in person to celebrate with those who helped him steal the election.

He was greeted with a standing ovation and a resolution attacking Ed Sadlowski by name. The resolution, adopted by unanimous vote, endorsed the McBride administration in advance and repeated McBride's slanders about "outside money" and "radical influence" in the Sadlowski campaign.

McBride's speech to the conference was filled with threats against dissidents and vague promises for the union's performance in the future.

McBride paid particular attention to the possibility of dissent from the union staff, saying that criticism of the leadership would not be tolerated from



LLOYD McBride

"those who eat at the union's table."

This presumably includes Steelworkers Fight Back candidates Oliver Montgomery, Andrew Kmec, and Marvin Weinstock, who must now go back to work under McBride's administration.

"Those who don't want to build the union had better get out of the way," McBride warned.

But the officialdom's idea of "union builders" could be seen from the array of Democratic politicians paraded before the conference. These included Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, an open supporter

of the union-busting "right to work" laws in Texas, and Fred Hofheinz, Houston's liberal Democratic mayor, who went all out to break the recent city transit workers' strike.

If any of the 300 delegates had come to the conference hoping to take part in a serious discussion of the problems facing the district's steelworkers, they went home disappointed.

No plans were mapped to repeal open-shop "right to work" laws, to organize the unorganized, or to protect steelworkers from employer attacks. There was no discussion about defending Local 1742 at Hughes Tool Company in Houston. Hughes has fired several union activists, including the local president, on trumped-up charges.

One steelworker who was present described the conference proceedings as a "Mickey Mouse routine" designed to rubber-stamp whatever policies the officialdom sees fit to implement.

Not until the end of the conference was a note of reality struck. A Black delegate from Local 1742 took the floor to demand why there are so few Black and Chicano members on the district staff.

Director Ed Ball replied that he refused to practice "reverse discrimination" in filling staff positions.

This was the only discussion from the floor that took place under any point on the agenda.



## What strategy to fight back?

# Hospital bosses attack District 1199

By Fran Collet

NEW YORK—More than 1,000 delegates from both the Hospital and Guild Divisions of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, met in a city-wide joint delegate assembly February 16.

Union President Leon Davis reported to the delegates on the latest attempts by hospital managements to roll back benefits won by organized hospital workers in New York.

Management claims it can no longer afford to pay into the fund for prescription and dental benefits. The benefit plan now pays 100 percent on prescrip-

*Fran Collet works at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City and is a Guild Division delegate in District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.*

tions and up to 100 percent on routine dental work.

Management's proposal to cut benefits is now before an arbitrator, as dictated by the contract between District 1199 and the League of Voluntary Hospitals. A ruling is expected soon.

The league's attempt to eliminate health care benefits is a direct threat to the union.

Until recently, the members of District 1199 in New York City had been relatively safe from the attacks leveled on municipal employees in the public hospitals and elsewhere as part of the city cutbacks crisis.

But managements of the voluntary—private nonprofit—hospitals have been seeking a way to take advantage of the "fiscal crisis" atmosphere to weaken or destroy our union.

### History of struggle

This hasn't been easy. District 1199 is predominantly Black, Puerto Rican, and female in composition. It has a history of struggle—from the forty-six-day strike that won union recognition in 1959, to involvement in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, to its 1973 strike against Nixon's wage controls.

The concerted attack on the union began last year. Contract negotiations had been stalemated by the league's refusal to bargain.

The hospitals were determined to force a strike. They recruited "volunteers" and stockpiled supplies months in advance of the July 7 strike deadline.

The eleven-day strike that followed involved some 40,000 workers in both hospitals and nursing homes. It began with a list of modest demands including a 10 percent wage increase. These demands were abandoned by the union leadership in the course of the strike and replaced by a call for binding arbitration.

The call for arbitration was supposedly put forward to gain public support and attain a "livable" settlement. Union members voted to end their militant strike as the leadership played down the danger of entrusting their needs to an "impartial" third party.

It was hoped that the arbitrator—the "Honorable" Margery Gootnik—would sympathize with the plight of hospital workers. She would award "at least" a cost-of-living increase, hospital workers were assured.

She did no such thing. Instead, wages were frozen until January 1977, at which time a temporary 4.5 percent increase would be granted until July 1977. In July, wages and benefits would be subject to new negotiations and binding arbitration.

Thus the league's move to cut dental and prescription benefits is carefully timed. Management seeks to frighten and demoralize the membership and to



1199 members demonstrate at Democratic convention during strike last summer

weaken District 1199's bargaining power this July.

If benefits are cut now, the union's first task in July would be to win them back. The question of a wage increase or even a cost-of-living adjustment would likely never find its way to the "bargaining" table. And the union will be bound by law to accept the arbitrator's decision.

What can union members do in the face of this attack?

After the February 16 delegate assembly, union delegates throughout the New York area met with hospital directors. The delegates protested the proposed cuts and demanded that the league withdraw the arbitration action against the union.

"There is nothing we can do," claimed one official at Mount Sinai Hospital. "Our hands are tied. This plan is going bankrupt at the rate of \$88,000 a month."

This same official had no response to figures of waste and mismanagement cited by delegates working in the "accounts payable" and "patients accounts" departments. The official again had no answer when asked what the hospitals would do with money they would pocket by not paying into the benefit plan between March and July.

In addition to continuing defense of the contract in the individual hospitals, a more thorough and long-range strategy is needed to defend the union.

One step the union leadership has taken is "Save for '78"—a campaign to get members to save an individual strike fund at \$10 a week through the credit union.

For most members of the union \$10 a week is a big sacrifice. But "Save for '78" can help prepare for a difficult struggle if a strike is forced when the contract expires in July 1978.

### Preparing for struggle

More than money is needed to prepare for that struggle. To begin with, an extensive educational campaign within the union about the nature of the "budget crisis" could only strengthen the membership.

The myth that there is "no money anywhere" must be exposed. All union members should know that our tax dollars in New York City are going—not to restore vital social services and jobs—but to pay debt service to the banks and wealthy bondholders at the rate of \$2.4 billion a year.

A democratic discussion throughout the union is needed to critically reexamine the strategy of binding arbitration. Our union's recent experiences confirm that "impartial" arbitrators

generally wind up taking the side of the bosses.

Instead, we need a strategy of relying on our own mobilized membership and reaching out to allies in other unions and in the communities we serve. Alone we cannot win the fight to defend hospital workers and health care services. But we don't have to stand alone.

Hospital managements waste no time in seeking out their allies—Democratic and Republican politicians and the business-dominated press—when they want to slander hospital workers or break a strike.

District 1199 should approach other victims of the cutbacks to seek united actions with them around our common interests. Preparing for the 1978 contract struggle must include reaching out to the Black and Puerto Rican communities and joining in anticut-back activities such as teach-ins and demonstrations.

### Political action

Nearly all union members know that the fate of hospital workers today—in the private as well as public hospitals—is determined in the political arena.

The March issue of *1199 News* reports that President Leon Davis has been telling chapter meetings that "former President Ford's 'drop dead' stance towards New York City has now been adopted by Governor Carey towards working people and the poor throughout the state. He has put on their backs the burden of balancing his budget, with resulting cuts in Medicaid and other assistance to low-income people that have a direct effect on 1199ers' jobs in the hospitals."

Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York, recently characterized the Democratic party as a "dud" for working people. The District 1199 leadership is now calling Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame and Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey—whom we supported politically and financially—"mistakes."

Why should our union support any more "mistakes"?

Our energies and resources should be used to run and support candidates who will be responsible to us, the working people, not to the banks and big business.

The only way we can get such candidates is to run them ourselves on an independent labor slate, based on and accountable to the unions.

Independent labor candidates would make jobs and social services—not profits—their first priority.

# Support grows for U of Mich AFSCME strike

By Nat Walker

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—A year-long offensive against campus unions by the administration of the University of Michigan is finally meeting resistance in the form of a strike by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1538.

A walkout of 2,300 service workers on February 23 has created a significant disruption of the university and considerable controversy on campus.

The University of Michigan has responded to the nationwide economic crisis primarily by cutting back programs and raising student fees.

Certain "priority areas" have not been affected, however, such as the salary of university President Fleming, which was just increased to \$71,429. That makes him the highest-paid state official in Michigan.

In addition to the students, campus workers are the victims of these inverted priorities. Up until now the pattern has been a series of defeats for campus unions.

First, an administration-inspired decertification campaign was successful in destroying the union of clerical workers.

This was followed by the university's refusal to negotiate seriously with the Graduate Employees Organization (affiliated to the American Federation of Teachers) when their contract expired last September. The GEO is still without a contract.

The campus AFSCME includes cafeteria workers, custodians, hospital aides, maintenance workers, and mail carriers. It has strengthened its student support over the years by backing student movements against tuition increases, a student-run bookstore, and the struggles of minority students.

The student-edited *Michigan Daily*, the Graduate Employees Organization, and the Student Government Executive Council of the School of Literature, Sciences and the Arts all are supporting the strike.

The AFSCME strike demands are essentially economic. The average wage of AFSCME employees is less than \$4.40 per hour.

The university's proposed contract offered a wage increase that is less than the increase in the cost of living, no cost-of-living clause, no improvement in medical benefits, a downgrading of several job classifications, and a 100 percent increase in parking fees. The union membership voted 1,311 to 314 to reject the contract.

The strike has forced university supervisors to recruit extra help from students to keep dormitory and hospital services functioning. An AFSCME Student Support Committee has been formed to campaign against this use of students as scabs.

On February 24 one of the tensest moments of the strike occurred when student and staff sympathizers were trying to block a university sanitation truck from collecting garbage. They were rushed by ten helmeted cops who used their billy clubs to clear the driveway. There were several injuries.

That evening Local 1538 President Joel Block appeared before the Ann Arbor City Council to denounce the police attack. The general feeling among workers on the picket lines is that such provocations by the police will only increase their solidarity and commitment to the strike.

## March 25-26

During the first six months of 1976 alone, U.S. banks poured \$777 million in loans into South Africa. Each year U.S. corporations invest millions more in the land of apartheid.

Despite the Carter administration's claim to support Black majority rule, it has done absolutely nothing to cut off this flow of funds.

Right now Black South African student leader Khotso Seatlholo is on a speaking tour in this country. In the interview on page 4, Seatlholo says his aim "is to let the people of America know what is actually happening and what their government is doing to kill us at home."

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is mounting the kind of educational campaign that Seatlholo sees as essential to the struggle "at home." On March 25 and 26, NSCAR chapters in many cities will join other opponents of white minority rule for protest picket lines, marches, teach-ins, and rallies.

These can be an important step in pulling together a united movement in this country—like the anti-Vietnam War movement—to demand an end to U.S. complicity with apartheid.

All out March 25-26!

## Open the books

New evidence surfaces almost every week that the "natural gas shortage" this winter was a fraud—artificially contrived by the energy profiteers to force prices up and end government regulation.

The latest is the revelation that Tenneco has been illegally diverting gas since at least 1965 from the *interstate* market (where the price is federally regulated) to the *intrastate* market in Texas (where the price is not regulated). Tenneco—an energy giant with sales of \$5.6 billion in 1975—said it "uncovered" the diversions while preparing its defense against lawsuits brought against it by corporate customers for failure to deliver gas.

The week before, a private report commissioned by gas utilities concluded that gas producers had failed to bring to market vast, proven, producible reserves of gas in the Gulf of Mexico. The utilities group—Associated Gas Distributors—had fully intended to cover up this discovery. It was in an "executive summary" to be deleted when the report was sent to the government. It reached the public only by accident.

Only one thing can be said for certain about the "gas crisis"—*that the American people have no way of knowing the real reserves of gas or the real cost of producing it.*

The energy corporations lie. The government "regulators" cover for them. And congressional "investigations" produce talk and no results.

The truth can only be determined by opening the books of the energy trust to scrutiny by trade unions and consumers. Each week's news adds to the urgency of this demand.

## So much for rights

Brady Tyson took Carter's pronouncements on human rights for good coin.

After all, on March 7 State Department officials had reaffirmed this stand as "an integral part" of U.S. foreign policy.

So on March 8, during a discussion on Chile by the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Tyson spoke out. As part of the U.S. delegation, he expressed its "profoundest regrets" for the U.S. role in overthrowing the democratically elected Allende government.

This regret, he continued, "cannot contribute significantly to the reduction of suffering and terror that the people of Chile have experienced in the last two years."

Washington moved quickly to repudiate Tyson's statement. "The president was not consulted," responded the White House. It "is not an expression of the administration's views," added the State Department.

So much for Carter's campaign for human rights. Such high-flown rhetoric comes in handy when Washington's aim is to discredit socialism by falsely equating it with the crimes of Stalinist regimes.

But it gets in the way when the offenders are "friendly" nations, especially ones in which the U.S. government has a sordid history it wants to keep secret.

If Carter were truly concerned about human rights, he would open up all the CIA files, so we can see for ourselves Washington's bloody record.

## Letters

### Union women

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164 represents 800 workers at the University of Minnesota Hospital in Minneapolis.

Although small, Local 1164 has earned the reputation of being a tough and progressive union. In the last contract negotiations 1164 was one of the few unions here to win a raise and a good contract.

One big difference between 1164 and other unions is that it consistently supports social issues, not just traditional "bread and butter" unionism.

At a general membership meeting in February, three proposals from the Women's Equal Rights Committee were adopted. They were to support the opening of an abortion clinic at the hospital, to begin a petition campaign for child care, and to participate in the March 5 Women's Rights Coalition.

The coalition is planning a demonstration for International Women's Day that will focus on child-care cutbacks, defending abortion rights, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action.

The union's decision to participate will help demonstrate to the public and the women's movement that unions can be a force for social progress.

Union women will speak at the demonstration and talk about the problems of working women. They will also explain how union women can enlist the strength of the labor movement to fight for women's rights.

Koreen Phelps  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

### Gov't grants to colleges

Under World News Notes, the February 18 *Militant* reports the action of the Linguistic Society of America in opposing the \$100,000 grant to City University from institutions controlled by the Iranian regime, on the grounds that the Iranian government "would try to exert influence and control." I don't oppose this stand.

But, why then doesn't the *Militant* also oppose federal grants to our universities? Our own government is in a position to force its "influence and control" whereas Iran lacks this power and can only use persuasion.

I imagine that City University could accept the grant and do as it pleased and Iran could do nothing about it.

George Lawrence  
Seattle, Washington

### Steel election

I thought *Militant* readers might be interested in some experiences I heard about in the February 8 election in the United Steelworkers. I helped organize election observers for Steelworkers Fight Back in the New York City area.

One-third of the locals here held their elections in downtown hotels in Manhattan. This made it difficult if not impossible for many steelworkers from outlying boroughs to vote. It made it easy for the McBride forces to flood the polling places with staffmen.

As in other districts, Sadlowski observers were threatened and harassed wherever the McBride people thought they could get away with it.

One Sadlowski observer in New York City was met at the door of his polling place by the president of his local, a McBride man. He was told that another Sadlowski observer had been there earlier trying to buy votes—a complete fabrication.

The president told him that people were angry and that his presence as an observer would not be wise. "If I were you I'd go cast my vote

and get the hell out."

The observer stayed despite continual harassment from the pro-McBride tellers. When the vote was counted and he was leaving, the president asked how much he was getting paid. The Sadlowski observer said he was donating his time.

At this the president boasted, "I got paid eight hours straight time and four hours overtime. I got paid lunch and travel expenses and if you didn't get paid you're a damn fool."

Cappy Kidd  
New York, New York

### Atlanta teachers

At a recent general membership meeting of the Atlanta Association of Educators (affiliated to the National Education Association), we had a speaker from the administration who answered questions on school board policy.

He said that the board deserved praise for continuing to work with a smaller and smaller budget without laying off any teachers. In other words, they cut everything else—

itinerant teachers, salaries, hiring, books, capital improvement, and so on. Finally one teacher asked him point-blank: "Do you mean to say that in the foreseeable future we have to look forward to continual budget cutting even though in order to keep even we would have to have a bigger budget?"

He replied very simply that unless taxes were raised or new funds dropped out of the sky we would have to look forward to that perspective.

I got up and said that there were plenty of funds if the school board cared to pursue them.

For instance, Delta Airlines, headquartered in Atlanta, paid not one penny of federal income tax in 1975. Atlanta's big corporations and banks, I said, are making no contribution to the education of children in Atlanta.

His reply was that if it could be proved that the nonpayment of taxes was done illegally the school board could take action.

I said that of course it was done legally—but that in my mind it didn't matter because whether they did it legally or illegally it was still a crime.

After the meeting one elderly Black woman said to me, "That's capitalism for you." Others said they liked what I had to say.

This was a small incident, but it opened my eyes to something big: that the ruling class has no intention of providing any upswings, certainly not in the area of social services.

They offer no alternative to working people except to continue to rob us of our already meager wages.

And that means that the solutions that the Socialist Workers party offers will begin to reach many more sympathetic ears than before.

Edwin Fruit  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Oil shortage

In your issue of February 18 you criticized President Carter's possible lift of gas and oil price controls, adding that the people would be squeezed into further poverty for the betterment of a few "oil barons."

However, you ignored the depletion of energy and manufacturing resources that is inherent in the current price system. Abuse of present supplies is limited only by the restraint exercised by a few people.

Removal of price controls would provide an economic restraint on unnecessary use and rape of oil supplies needed for the continuation of



# Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



## A great 'first' Black

Marian Anderson celebrated her seventy-fifth birthday February 27 at Carnegie Hall in New York City. She is known to many as the First Lady of American music.

Anderson received many awards over the more than half-century span of her career as one of the world's great contraltos. The well-known conductor Arturo Toscanini said Anderson has "a voice such as one hears once in a hundred years."

In 1955—just ten years before her formal retirement—Anderson made her debut as the first Black soloist at New York's Metropolitan Opera.

A *Militant* commentary that year applauded the breakthrough for Black performers, who were previously excluded from the Met. However, Anderson's contract restricted her to roles portraying "Negroes." That meant she drew only one minor part throughout her entire first season.

I think the Sunday night concert at Carnegie Hall was symbolic in several ways. It paid tribute to that period in Black history when our progress was measured by "firsts." Only a few gifted Blacks in a few professions squeaked through to success.

Marian Anderson, like other artists, had to be tough just to deal with the flagrant racism acceptable back then. She had to be strong, as she waited for public opinion to change under the pressure of changing world events.

Anderson followed the route traveled by most Black performers until the late 1960s—before the civil rights movement made its impact.

First she went to Europe, where her talent was recognized and celebrated. Following that success,

Anderson returned to the United States, where a few doors opened for her.

Another symbolic aspect of the birthday celebration was the change in official government attitude toward racism and the arts. Rosalynn Carter praised Anderson and informed her of a special gold medal Congress was honoring her with.

But there was no official commitment to end the racism that proved the greatest obstacle to Anderson in developing her talent.

In 1939 another first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, made a statement in support of Anderson. She resigned from the reactionary Daughters of the American Revolution when that group banned Anderson from appearing at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C.

History has glorified Eleanor Roosevelt's act, and the government's later invitation to Anderson to sing at Lincoln Memorial. It took far more than that, however, to bring an end to Jim Crow in the arts.

Marian Anderson's talent *should* be awarded. She deserves gold medals for overcoming all the obstacles. But Blacks see advancement differently now.

Black students are celebrating Black History Month today by studying our roots and the many phases of our progress. Black workers are demanding job opportunities through affirmative-action programs. And Black women are beginning to broach the problem of our own oppression.

A Carnegie Hall salute to Marian Anderson in New York City—the cultural capital of this country—is a grand way to close the door on the period of the "firsts."

our present and future industrial society. Sparing use of oil supplies would permit the additional time needed to develop solar, wind, or water power sources.

This should not mean that the oil companies should receive windfall profits from price decontrol. A large excess profits tax should be imposed, the receipts of which could be used to offset the increase in the cost of heating of the poor and elderly.

A fuel shortage, phony or real, affects everyone regardless of class or political philosophy. Furthermore, the eventual depletion of our petroleum resources is a certainty. To see all through the future we need intelligent planning, not knee-jerk reactions.

Mark A. Lacatena

Providence, Rhode Island

### Protest at St. Pat's

More than 150 people picketed St. Patrick's Cathedral February 27 to protest the Vatican's refusal to ordain women to the priesthood. While most of the protesters were women, a number of male supporters, including clergy, also attended.

The picket line was called by the National Women's Ordination Conference, an organization of Roman Catholic women who are fighting to reverse the church's decision.

Although the demonstration was publicized as a "prayer vigil," anger at the Vatican's stance was reflected in numerous picket signs including: "Ordain women or stop baptizing them!" and "Is God an equal opportunity employer?"

Maureen Dwyer, a staff member of the New York committee, told me that there is "a very deep-seated misogyny" within the church hierarchy. "They pay lip service to equality in terms of equal roles. There is a kind of 'separate but equal' clause in the Vatican's declaration. But we all know what 'separate but equal' means; it means it does not work."

Dwyer acknowledged that the growing women's liberation movement has "definitely had an impact" on the movement for women's ordination, and that feminist groups have been "very positive and supportive." She noted that many members of her group were also active supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Kurt Hill

New York, New York

### Glad to see SWP growing

Enclosed is a money order for \$7.50 for a one-year subscription. I also would like the book [*Prospects for Socialism in America*] that you advertised to be given if I renewed.

I am happy to see the Socialist Workers party growing and starting branches in entirely new areas, such as Raleigh, North Carolina.

I wish you well in building a truly national party. I await the day that the SWP outnumbers the Communist party and leads the working class to victory over capitalism.

J.O.

Hollywood, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Free Lance

Dave Freeman

## A word to new readers

Logistically, it is an extraordinary phenomenon.

In about 75 American cities this week, groups of individuals will be scattered on street corners, college campuses, and outside factory gates, hawking the *Militant*.

Thousands of copies will be sold this way. Many will be buying the *Militant* for the first time. You may be one of them.

We urge you to read this issue from cover to cover and then fill out the subscription form on page 2 and mail it in.

What is the *Militant* and why do you need it?

All who have read a daily newspaper or watched the evening news on TV know they're not getting the full story. The news media in this country are controlled by the rich and powerful. They are careful to avoid running stories that reveal how autocratic and unjust their system is.

They are careful not to run many stories that might encourage workers, oppressed minorities, women, and others to fight for their freedom. Too much emphasis on such coverage, they reason, might stir people into action and might threaten the wealth that the news media owners control.

That's why the capitalist press prints what it prints.

And that's why the *Militant* publishes what you cannot read anywhere else.

The *Militant* has a staff based in New York City with correspondents all over the country. *Militant* reporters go where the action is—to the mines, to the factories, to the campuses, to cities in crisis—wherever people are fighting for a better life.

But the *Militant* is more than that—much more.

It has a perspective on politics you won't find in any news publication in the country.

No newspaper in the United States has carried such incisive criticism of Jimmy Carter and his new administration. In analytical articles, backed up with facts, the *Militant* has provided its readers with

extensive details on why and how President Carter is operating against the interests of working people.

The *Militant* has also provided in-depth coverage on the so-called energy shortage that shows that the shortage is a fraud to drive up fuel prices.

The *Militant* is an invaluable source of reportage on the feminist movement, the struggle for the right to abortion, and the movement to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Its coverage of the Black movement is extensive. The *Militant's* reports on school desegregation battles have been second to none. And it carries many reports on defense cases, such as the Gary Tyler case in New Orleans.

One of the most significant developments in the nation today is the stirring in the trade unions, especially in the steelworkers, where Ed Sadlowski recently challenged the bureaucracy in a run for the union presidency.

Workers want a greater say in their unions, and many workers want their unions to fight harder for their interests. The *Militant* is on the scene with reports on the new motion in labor's ranks.

Perceptive articles on the international scene report on the growing unrest in China and the demand for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. There are stories on the fight for Black majority rule in southern Africa.

In addition, there are reports on the socialist movement, on campaigns of the Socialist Workers party, and on basic questions of contemporary socialist thought.

It's a wealth of information and you can't get it anywhere else.

The *Militant* has a special introductory offer of one dollar for ten weeks. It's for new readers like yourself. If after ten weeks you want to resubscribe for a full year, you can do so. I think the chances are you'll want to.

Just enclose one dollar and your name and address in an envelope and send it to the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



**Not to worry**—"CHERBOURG, France (AP)—Eight workers at a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at La Hague near Cherbourg inhaled radioactive vapor while working on plutonium dioxide Friday. . . . Plant officials described it as a minor accident and said that the workers . . . were expected to be able to return to work on Monday."

**The way the cookie crumbles**—Two longtime Girl Scout leaders in Austin, Texas, burned their uniform to protest the organization's recent endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment. And in Savannah, Georgia,

a Stop ERA group decided to boycott Girl Scout cookies.

**Not just caffeine**—You may be paying a bit more for coffee, but you're also getting more. Last year some seventy million pounds of green coffee beans entering the United States were found to contain such extras as bird, rodent, and human excreta, insects and mold. It was all cleaned, they say, under Food and Drug Administration supervision before being sent to market. Less than 20 percent is inspected.

**Safety factor**—The Newport News Shipbuilding Company is negotiating to build three nuclear-powered oil tankers. The first of their kind, they would be the largest vessels afloat, carrying four million barrels of oil. What with the nuclear engine, if one of them blows up or cracks in half, maybe the radiation would dissolve the oil slick.

**Environmental dep't**—To help reduce smog, federal reserve banks are beginning to shred old bills instead of

burning them. Better yet, why not just give them away?

**Rights issue**—Some 130,000 travelers assertedly signed a petition calling for across-the-aisle seating for smokers and nonsmokers. The petition was circulated, oddly, by the Tobacco Institute. A spokesperson for the pushers' associations said it wasn't right to force people to the back of the plane where they're the last served and the last off. But if the plane nose dives, they're also the last to go—a chance for one more puff.

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

### Arnold Weissberg



## No beef with DES?

With this issue of the *Militant* we are beginning a regular column on the environment.

The beef you eat is stamped "USDA Inspected," which is supposed to inspire confidence.

Unfortunately, it doesn't say inspected for what. Or what the results of the inspection were.

It especially doesn't say that you may be eating a potentially cancerous dose of a powerful drug—DES.

A little-known law called the Delaney Clause bans the use of any food additive that causes cancer in humans or animals. There is only one exception: the additive can be used in animal feed, if it leaves no residue in any edible portion of the slaughtered animal.

Tests conducted in the 1940s showed that DES (diethylstilbestrol), a synthetic female hormone then widely used to speed the fattening of chickens, caused cancer in certain kinds of mice.

However, the Food and Drug Administration allowed it in the animals' feed because studies didn't detect any DES after slaughter.

In 1954 the FDA gave the green light to adding DES to cattle feed.

This outrageous indifference to public health continued even when doctors discovered in 1971 that sixty-two daughters of women who had taken DES while pregnant had contracted an extremely rare form of vaginal cancer.

These findings were dismissed by an FDA official as a mere "statistical association."

The U.S. Department of Agriculture concocted figures "proving" that taking DES out of cattle feed would cost consumers an extra \$800 million a year.

The FDA then made a first, hesitant move against DES in cattle. It ordered cattle slaughtered after January 1972 to be withdrawn from DES feed a week, rather than forty-eight hours, before slaughter.

This was supposed to eliminate DES residue from beef. However, detected DES actually increased.

Then in August 1972 the agency ordered a halt to the production of DES for feed. But it left a five-month "grace period" to use up existing stocks.

At this point, Congress finally pressured the FDA to issue a flat ban on DES in animal feeds. The ban took effect in January 1973.

Thus the FDA's sympathy for the profit-and-loss statements of the cattle industry left you eating

potentially cancerous beef for years.

A federal court overturned the FDA ban on DES in 1974. DES is back in your beef. The FDA still hasn't bothered to hold the hearings ordered by the court.

However, the agency has received a report from a scientific advisory group saying it had been unable to find any evidence that DES in cattle feed presented any appreciable risk of causing cancer in humans.

In fact, the new study said, DES was valuable because it cuts the cost of cattle raising.

The group was appointed by the Council for Agricultural Science and Technology (CAST).

CAST is supported by donations from agribusiness.

While admitting that an occasional beef liver was found to have DES residue, the researchers explained that it was all the feed-lot operators' fault, because they insisted on feeding DES too close to the time of slaughter.

Anyway, the report said, there's so little DES in your beef it can't possibly hurt you.

And if it does, content yourself with the vision of all the extra profits the cattle industry raked in.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## 'El Gallo' repeats slanders

DENVER—The Texas Raza Unida party has been under heavy attack in the past year by the state and federal governments, wealthy Anglo ranchers, news media, and the courts.

Sensing the danger to the entire movement, Chicano publications such as *Caracol*, *El Diario*, and *La Cucaracha* have come to the defense of the *compañeros* in Texas.

One quarter from which no help is coming, however, is *El Gallo*, the newspaper of the Crusade for Justice in Denver.

Instead, *El Gallo* has joined in the chorus of slanders against the *partido*.

The January 1977 issue reprints articles from San Antonio's notoriously sensational and racist dailies reporting an accusation by former Crystal City Council member Lupe Cortinas against Texas RUP leader José Angel Gutiérrez. Cortinas claims that Gutiérrez tried to hire him to assassinate former Sheriff C.L. Sweeten as well as Crusade leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. There is no evidence to support this.

Cortinas's objectivity in making the charge is questionable. He belongs to a faction in Crystal City called the Barrio Club, which claims to be part of the RUP. However, the Barrio Club wants to roll back many of the gains that Chicanos have made since the independent Chicano party took over

Crystal City from the Democrats.

In the last school board election, the Barrio Club won by a narrow margin—which, it was generally agreed, came from Anglos voting in the nonpartisan election. As an example of where the Barrio Club is at, since it won control of the school board, all the murals in the school that related to the Chicano struggle have been painted over and replaced with pictures of Donald Duck and Pluto.

Yet *El Gallo* prints Cortinas's farfetched charges and gives them full credence.

*El Gallo* asks, "Why did the UPI and AP kill the story?" and "Why has Zavala County D.A. Earl Caddell taken no action on this matter?" This implies that there is a conspiracy between the capitalist news wire services and local Anglo authorities to protect Gutiérrez, when as everyone knows, the exact opposite is the case. *El Gallo* says not a word about the attacks on the RUP.

The Crusade paper also asks, "What is the difference in philosophy between Gonzales and Gutiérrez?" and "Why is the philosophy of Rodolfo Corky Gonzales dangerous to political connivers, manipulators, and opportunists?" The implication here is that Gutiérrez, whom the Crusade has often labeled an "opportunist," finds the "philosophy" of Gonzales dangerous enough to want to do away with him physically.

There is not one shred of evidence presented to substantiate this backstabbing slander.

The Crusade itself has often been the object of lying articles in the capitalist news media. Why is it now so eager to swallow whatever the papers say about Gutiérrez?

Apparently, the Crusade is falling into a pattern of blind factionalism.

When *El Gallo* had a dispute with the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance recently, the paper accused them of being "pig apparatus organizations" and suggested they were in the employ of the FBI and CIA.

It is well known that Gonzales and Gutiérrez have differed strongly on how to build the Chicano struggle.

But one of the most important principles of the movement must be that no matter how much we disagree among ourselves, we must come to the defense of other movement people when they are under attack by the enemy.

The slanders can only serve the interests of those who would like to see the movement tear itself apart.

For in reality the attacks against Gutiérrez and the Texas Raza Unida party are directed against the whole Chicano movement. And, an injury to one is an injury to all.





# FBI VS. WOMEN

August 26, 1970, warned feds:  
'Sisterhood is powerful!'

By Diane Wang  
August 26, 1970.

It was the fiftieth anniversary of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution—the amendment that gave women the right to vote.

Forty thousand people surged down New York's Fifth Avenue in a giant Women's Strike for Equality. Thousands more took part in similar demonstrations around the country.

"Well, the laughing and snickering are now officially over," wrote columnist Pete Hamill the next day. Like most male commentators, Hamill had sneered at feminists before then.

Hamill was not the only one impressed by August 26. FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act last month show that the G-men were also watching. They too recognized the power the women's movement had demonstrated that day.

## Just 'far-out groups'?

J. Edgar Hoover had ordered his agents into action against feminists in the late 1960s.

Agents sent back reports mocking the women. "More radical kids" one said. Another agent described participants at a women's conference as "hippies, lesbians, or from other far-out groups."

The Chicago FBI agent complained that watching feminists was a waste of time: "This collection of dissident women with common goals, reportedly without organization and membership, have been given status as an organization by the news media."

To prove his point, the agent sent in a Mike Royko column from the Chicago *Daily News*. Royko's sneering attitude was quite common in those days:

"I hope no one interprets this column as an attempt to discourage the Women's Liberation Movement," he wrote. "By all means, they should continue their activities. It gets them out of the house and gives them something interesting to do, between cooking meals."

"But if they are serious about attaining equality, better jobs, and all that, they must make one essential move or they will fail."

"They should get men to lead them."

The claim back then was that women were not really oppressed and that feminists were just a fringe group of "frustrated" or "sick" middle-class females. Many doubted that a women's liberation movement could grow. They denied that such a movement was in the interests of working women and Black women.

But the size and militancy of the August 26 actions—reminiscent of the

suffrage marches in the early 1900s—laid those arguments to rest.

## Women strike for equality

When the National Organization for Women called for nationwide actions August 26, the FBI began collecting leaflets and reports from planning meetings.

A teletyped message from New York agents to FBI headquarters in Washington predicted that "approximately two thousand to three thousand will participate in [the] march and rally" in New York City.

Contrary to what the agents had expected, however, tens of thousands of women showed up to demand abortion rights, child care, and equal opportunities.

So August 26 was a busy day for New York G-men. "In addition to the demonstration at City Hall," the FBI reported, "... small demonstrations took place throughout the city involving the Women's Strike. The demonstrations consisted of appearance by women in groups of from seven to thirty at various locations. . . ."

These small protests reached a climax that evening as women got off work. The FBI agents "observed a gathering made up mostly of women at 59th Street and Fifth Avenue, New York City, between 5:30 and 6:30 p.m. A group estimated at 30,000 to 40,000 people marched south on Fifth Avenue from 59th Street to Bryant Park."

The *New York Times* description was more vivid: "Every kind of woman you ever see in New York was there: limping octogenarians, braless teenagers, Black Panther women, telephone operators, waitresses, Westchester matrons, fashion models, Puerto Rican factory workers, nurses in uniform, young mothers carrying babies on their backs."

There were signs and slogans of all kinds. Some that caught the G-men's eyes were "Men for women's lib," "Lesbians of the world unite," and "The women of vietnam are our sisters."

But there were more: "I am a human being." "High school feminism is alive and growing." "Stop butchering the bodies, souls, and minds of women," and others.

## United action

The demonstration united many divergent groups that supported women's liberation. But the FBI took special note of radicals. Agents spotted people from a variety of anti-Vietnam War and socialist groups. The G-men noted that "one of the speakers at

Bryant Park was RUTHANN MILLER, SWP candidate for New York State comptroller." (Miller had also been a central organizer of the march.)

At the August 26 demonstration it was apparent that women recognized the connection between their fight and that of Blacks and others oppressed in this society. Women seemed to understand that they had a stake in ending the Vietnam War.

## Women everywhere

The New York protest was the largest that day, but not the only one. Across the nation women rallied: 8,000 in Philadelphia; 7,000 in Chicago; 5,000 in Boston; 3,000 in Indianapolis; 3,000 in Cleveland; 2,500 in San Francisco.

In addition to New York, the files released by the FBI include reports on activities in Boston; Houston; Kansas City, Mo.; Rochester, N.Y.; and Washington, D.C.

August 26 proved that women's liberation was a nationwide social movement, voicing the needs of all women. The size and diversity of the crowds proved what had been previously challenged: that feminists had the support of women of all kinds.

The Women's Strike for Equality inspired even more women to stand up for their rights. Women's groups sprang up in cities and on campuses across the country in the wake of August 26.

One undated FBI memo, apparently sent out in the 1960s, could name only three groups. But by 1971 the FBI's list of organizations in New York was six pages long.

It was because women's liberation was such a powerful, broad movement—and not just a small band of outcasts as the agents had hoped—that the FBI kept up its spying and disruptive activities against feminists.

This year women are again rallying for our rights, and in growing numbers. The demonstrations on International Women's Day drew many women into public protests to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and to defend abortion rights, affirmative action, and maternity benefits.

The challenge this year is different. In 1970 the Strike for Equality had to prove that women were serious about building a movement to win our rights. In 1977 we are trying to defend and extend the gains that movement has won.

Our task today will require actions even more powerful than August 26, 1970.

# Utah house okays bill against abortion

By Katherine Sojourner

*Be it resolved, that the 42nd legislature of the State of Utah respectfully applies to the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of drafting and submitting for ratification by the states . . . an amendment to the Constitution that will guarantee to every human life, from the moment of fertilization . . . the full protection of all laws respecting life, excepting an unborn child whose mother's life will otherwise be lost.*

SALT LAKE CITY—The Utah House of Representatives passed this anti-abortion resolution February 25 by a fifty-five-to-five vote. If the senate concurs, Utah will become the sixth state to pass such a resolution.

Anti-abortion forces are on a national campaign to win thirty-four such state resolutions. This would force Congress to convene a constitutional convention.

The Utah legislators' supposed concern for human life is particularly obscene when placed beside their stand on capital punishment. This state murdered Gary Gilmore in January—the first execution in this country in a decade.

Rep. Lloyd Frandsen expressed the lawmakers' contempt for women when he argued against an amendment to make abortion legal in the case of rape or incest. Even if babies are created through rape or incest, he piously declared, "more lives are better than less lives."

Arguing against the resolution, Rep. Wyllis Dorman-Ligh stated, "Men are always the people deciding what women should do. Let mothers decide what to do with their lives."

The Utah legislative session closes March 10. But another attack on a woman's right to choose is on the agenda. A bill modeled on the federal Hyde amendment has been voted out of committee. This measure would cut off all state funds for abortions for low-income women.

The newly formed chapter of the National Organization for Women here scheduled a March 8 rally to protest these anti-abortion measures.

Kay Sedam, an organizer of the NOW chapter, explained to twenty-one enthusiastic people at the first NOW meeting February 19, "Our rights are under attack—abortion, paid maternity leaves, affirmative action, and many more."

"This is why, more than ever, we need a strong, action-oriented NOW chapter in Salt Lake."

**Abortion:  
a woman's  
right to  
choose.**

ysa

## NOW AVAILABLE

**ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE** Button, 1 3/4 inches diameter, red and black lettering on white background. \$35 each. Order from: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## International Women's Day

# Rallies, marches defend abortion rights, ERA

By Gale Shangold

From efforts to rescind the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington State to the arson attempt on a St. Paul abortion clinic, women have a lot to protest this International Women's Day.

The intensified attacks on women's rights account for the determined spirit characteristic of this year's actions.

The following are reports on some March 5 activities. Other actions are planned for March 8-12.

Protesters—175 strong—marched through downtown **Houston**. "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose" and "Ratify the ERA Now" were the themes of the action.

One hundred "right to lifers" were waiting for the demonstrators as they arrived at Sam Houston Park for a rally.

Speakers at the rally included representatives from the National Council of Negro Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and San Antonio National Organization for Women.

At the University of Kentucky in **Lexington**, more than 100 women celebrated International Women's Day.

Sponsoring organizations ranged from the Women's Law Caucus to the UK chapter of the Girl Scouts.

The day's program included a panel on abortion, a speaker on the ERA, and workshops.

In **Milwaukee**, 200 women attended a Tribunal on Crimes Against Women.

Testimony covered special problems faced by high school, older, and gay women. Speakers also talked about police brutality and the abortion and ERA issues.

In New York, the **Queens** chapter of NOW held an all-day conference at York College.

One hundred thirty attended the event. Black women made up nearly 30 percent of the audience.

The morning session was devoted to discussing abortion rights and sterilization abuse.



St. Paul demonstrators protest arson attack on abortion clinic Militant/Bill Lerman

## St. Paul

By Ginny Burke

**ST. PAUL**—More than 350 people marched three miles to the state capitol here March 5.

An anonymous death threat delayed the march until extra police protection was provided.

The theme of the demonstration and rally at the capitol rotunda was "Stop the attacks on women's rights."

Heading the march was the Concerned Neighbors Coalition, a group active in protesting the recent arson attack on an abortion clinic in the Highland Park district of St. Paul.

The clinic, operated by Planned Parenthood, has been under attack by anti-abortionists since last September.

One hundred fifty more protesters joined the marchers at the capitol.

"We wanted to show we will not let our freedom die," said demonstration coordinator Susan Vass in opening the rally. "We cannot be legislated out, bought out, or burned out."

At a news conference March 4, Jack Hood Vaughn, national president of Planned Parenthood, pledged full financial and moral support to the Minnesota affiliate.

## Phoenix

By Caroline Fowlkes

**PHOENIX**—"What do you want? ERA. When do you want it? Yesterday." So chanted more than 350 protesters as they picketed the Arizona State Capitol March 5.

Arizona has twice defeated the ERA. Yet on three weeks notice Feminists United for Action mobilized more than 350 people, including a busload from Tucson. Small contingents from towns across the state also joined the march.

"We need to educate women on what the ERA can do for them," Ann Russo told the rally. Russo is the chairperson of Feminists United for Action.

"Feminists need to unite and orga-

nize. We need teach-ins, pickets, and demonstrations," she said. "But most of all we need to rely on the fighting spirit of women."

Earlier in the week the Phoenix City Council declared March 5 "ERA Day" and urged Phoenicians to turn out for the rally.

## Seattle

By Jeannie Reynolds

**SEATTLE**—More than 300 people demonstrated March 5 in downtown Seattle in defense of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Washington ERA Coalition called the march and rally in response to efforts to place an initiative on the November ballot aimed at rescinding the legislature's vote for the ERA.

Contingents joined the march from Everett, Bellevue, Enumclaw, Marysville, Spokane, and Tacoma—all cities in Washington.

A week earlier Gov. Dixie Lee Ray addressed a rally of 300 ERA supporters in Tacoma.

At the March 5 rally, Elsie Schrader, chairperson of the Washington State AFL-CIO Women's Commission, read from a resolution adopted by the executive board of the Washington State Labor Council.

The resolution urged unions "to redouble their efforts in the struggle to ratify the ERA."

Although leaflets advertized a simultaneous "rally to stop the ERA," not one ERA opponent showed up.

The next step in defense of the ERA will be a Northwest Women's Action Conference at the University of Washington, April 30-May 1.

Sponsors include the Washington ERA Coalition, Seattle-King County NOW, UW ERA Coalition, and Northwest Women's Studies Association.

# Women office workers plan drive for job rights

By Lee Martindale

**BOSTON**—The John Hancock Building looms over Boston like the glass monument to corporate power that it is.

Across the street at the YWCA, a group of the secretaries, bookkeepers, clerks, and typists who keep this and other huge corporate structures functioning met on February 26 to discuss how to win equal rights for working women.

The one-day conference, hosted by "9 to 5," a Boston working women's organization, drew 150 people from eight states. They came from all the

Lee Martindale is an office worker at New York University.

major Northeastern cities and a number of organizations. A similar conference took place the same day in Cleveland, and others will be held next month in Chicago and San Francisco.

These regional conferences were planned at a National Conference of Working Women held in Dayton, Ohio, last November. They are being organized to kick off a national leafletting, petitioning, and endorser drive for a resolution demanding that equal employment opportunity laws be strengthened and enforced. In May, the petitions and resolutions will be presented to regional directors of the U.S. Labor Department.

Clerical work has become a dead-end "job ghetto" for millions of women. Lacking equal access to training programs, they find that promotion from clerical to higher-paying positions is

rare. In addition, employers subject secretaries to sexual harassment and regard them as servants to fetch their coffee.

The new organizations of women office workers are taking the boss by surprise. As speakers at the conference put it, "They think we're stupid. They can't imagine that 'their' secretaries can organize and fight."

One woman I talked to said: "The world is controlled by men, from offices. . . . I have a vision of what would happen if 600,000 secretaries in New York all put one another on 'hold,' sat back, and watched the whole administrative structure dissolve into chaos."

During the opening conference session, Nancy Farrell of 9 to 5 explained that her group includes women working in banks, in publishing and insurance companies, and at universities. The group works closely with Local 925 of the Service Employees International Union, which is engaged in organizing drives in Boston.

Noreen Connell of New York's Women Office Workers (WOW) explained that WOW was formed in 1973 by women who felt the need for an organization to fight for office workers' rights. One reason secretaries are so vulnerable is that the labor movement has reneged on its responsibility to organize most of these women.

Both Connell and Farrell described the leading roles their groups played last year in protesting the Labor Department's attempts to gut affirmative-action guidelines for go-



vernment contractors. In New York this included picketing and testifying at Labor Department hearings.

Office Workers of New Haven (OWNH) is a new organization, a woman reported. Through one of its supporters, who works for the arms manufacturer Owen-Winchester, the OWNH uncovered and exposed secret arms sales to the racist South African regime.

Connie Sullivan of 9 to 5 hit on the special problems of Black women office workers: they are fighting two battles at once—against sex and race discrimination.

The afternoon session of the conference was devoted to workshops.

Unfortunately, there was no discussion of the struggles to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, to defend abortion rights, to win pregnancy disability benefits, or to stop the cutbacks in child care. These issues affect all women office workers. Organizing around them can help build the local clerical workers groups.

One thing is clear: women office workers are beginning to come out of the offices and into the streets. As they demand their rights, they are adding another voice against attempts to intensify sex discrimination as part of the bosses' plans to make working people pay for the economic crisis.

As Nancy Farrell said, "Sometimes I go across the street [to the Hancock Building], pay \$1.50, and ride to the top. And I realize that all the executives who sit up there really have a view. After all, we do all the work, and together we have the strength to win."



# ABORTION FIGHT IS WORLDWIDE

## London tribunal hears women from many nations



2,000 in London defend a woman's right to choose

G.M. Cookson

By Gwyn Davies  
From Intercontinental Press

LONDON—Two thousand persons attended a "Day of Evidence" tribunal here January 29, in response to a mounting anti-abortion campaign and the refusal of a Parliamentary Select Committee on abortion to hold either a fair or public hearing.

The tribunal, which heard evidence on the restricted availability of abortion in Britain, as well as in other countries, was called by the National Abortion Campaign. It was sponsored by a wide range of individuals and organisations, including thirteen trades councils, twelve Constituency Labour parties, four national unions, fifteen trade-union branches, and fifteen members of Parliament.

A concerted campaign has grown up in the past two years to restrict the limited access to abortion granted by the 1967 Abortion Act. The James White Bill, various Select Committee proposals, and the forthcoming Benyon Bill, scheduled to receive its second reading in Parliament on February 25, represent the legal spearhead of the anti-abortion movement. Cutbacks in medical facilities providing abortion have greatly aided the anti-abortion drive.

On November 17, 1976, Pamela Slater of South

London died from an illegal abortion after failing to get an abortion through the National Health Service.

Another disturbing aspect of the evidence presented involved punitive attitudes amongst doctors, who under British law make the abortion decision. Some of the doctors interviewed prior to the tribunal showed extreme ignorance and bias.

The Labour Abortion Rights Committee, made up of members of the Labour party, reported on their efforts to make the Labour government carry out its own party's decision. The 1975 Labour Conference took a stand in favour of abortion, yet the present government refuses to act.

Detailed reports were brought to the tribunal from countries across the world. It appeared that "right-to-life" organisations exist in nearly every country where abortion is provided or is being widely demanded.

Several speakers stressed the importance of making sure that abortion laws did not exclude women from other countries. A representative from the French Choisir (To Choose) group said that many women from her country still came to Britain despite the recent Veil law, which partially legalises abortion.

## Belgian feminist faces charges

By Joanna Rossi  
From Intercontinental Press

BRUSSELS—On February 19, some 500 persons held a spirited demonstration in Kortrijk, a city in West Flanders, part of the Flemish-speaking area of Belgium. The action was called by supporters of Anne Léger, a twenty-six-year-old Belgian woman who has been charged with possessing literature on abortion and contraception.



ANNE LEGER

Léger is a member of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT/RAL—Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs/Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. If found guilty, she faces a jail sentence of eight days to six months. Her trial is set for February 28.

The affair began the evening of August 24, 1976, when two members of the Kortrijk police force searched Léger's parked car. Léger was not present, and the cops had no search warrant. In the trunk they found a packet of brochures on contraception and abortion.

Charges were later brought against Léger by the Kortrijk Public Prosecutor under a seldom-applied law dating from 1923, which defines displaying, selling, or distributing any material advocating abortion as a criminal act.

Not even within the definition of the 1923 law is she guilty, says Léger. She explained that she was given the wrapped-up package to deliver to an acquaintance in Kortrijk. She did not even open the parcel, much less display or distribute the pamphlets or sell any of them.

She only discovered the parcel was missing days after it had been seized and found out the reason still later when two policemen came to search her house, garage, and car and to interrogate her neighbors about her living habits. The cops found nothing to do with abortion, but in their report they wrote: "In a room, which is completely set up as a library, we noted that Léger belongs to the far left."

This, of course, has nothing at all to do with the charges pressed against Léger. There is nothing illegal about "belonging to the far left." Obviously the remark was thrown in only to prejudice the case.

The charges against Léger take place in the context of a broad public debate on Belgium's extremely repressive abortion law. In late October 1976, two Brussels hospitals which provide abortion services in spite of the law were raided by police, and four doctors, including Dr. Willy Peers, were charged with performing abortions.

In the wake of these arrests, a "Women's Day" on abortion was held in Brussels on November 11. The protest rally, which was attended by some 2,000 to 3,000 persons, called for a national demonstration on abortion to be held in Brussels on March 5.

## Status of int'l abortion laws

By Gale Shangold

"Few social changes have ever swept the world so rapidly," notes a 1976 United Nations study on the worldwide trend toward liberalization of abortion laws.

The study found that almost two-thirds of the world's population lives where access to legal abortion is relatively easy, compared with one-third five years earlier.

During the past decade, thirty-three countries have liberalized their abortion laws, and twelve nations now permit abortion on demand during the first three months of pregnancy.

In Italy, despite fierce opposition from the Vatican and the governing Christian Democratic party, the Chamber of Deputies approved a liberal abortion law in January.

Until this year, abortion was illegal in Israel unless the woman's life was in danger. On January 31 the Parliament passed a partially reformed law.

The new law legalizes abortion after approval by a three-member committee consisting of two doctors and a social worker. Harm to a woman's emotional as well as physical health is now a criterion for granting abortions.

A feature in the January *Scientific American* reports that "over the past 10 years in many countries abortion has changed from a largely disreputable practice into an accepted medical one, from a subject of gossip into an openly debated public issue."

Yet, the article goes on to say, "the issue is far from being settled."

For instance, last year West Germany went from a liberal abortion law to a more restrictive one. The Dutch Senate rejected a liberalized bill in 1976, as did the Swiss Parliament in 1973.

Also included among those moving in the direction of restricting women's rights are the Stalinist regimes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a founder of the American Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, participated in the international session.

Two speakers from the north and south of Ireland described the problems facing Irish women. In the south, contraceptives are illegal and abortion counsellors may suffer prosecution if they advise women of the availability of legal abortion in England. It seemed that the greatest obstacle was the ideology of the Catholic Church: "We still need to deal with the belief of the majority of the Irish that abortion is murder," one participant said.

The reporter from the north of Ireland described how, in an area where British law applies in other fields, the 1967 Abortion Act is not law, and abortion is virtually unobtainable. Cases of women refused abortion in the north of Ireland included women who were raped, women as young as thirteen years of age, and women who had already had ten children.

A representative from the Italian organisation CISA\* reported on the recent Italian law, passed by a majority of only six votes in the face of opposition from the Christian Democrats and the pope. It grants abortion up to ninety days when the mental or physical health of the woman is threatened. The law was passed partly in response to the Seveso chemical factory disaster last summer when 279 pregnant women were exposed to the powerful poison dioxin, and only 28 of them were able to obtain legal abortions.

Susana Veraguas, a midwife from Chile, described how the suppression of democratic rights in her country has affected abortion. Abortion is illegal unless the woman has contracted German measles or her life is directly endangered. In practice, she claimed, medical abortion is unobtainable except at secret clinics catering to very rich patients. Prison sentences face both the woman trying to obtain abortion and anyone aiding her. Back-street abortions are common, and she reported that hospitals treat thousands of women each year suffering complications from botched abortions.

The convenor of the international session, Rose Knight, called for an international movement to coordinate the efforts of women who are fighting the same struggle all over the world: "We have a common purpose—to defeat the political and religious institutions that oppose the right to choose."

\*CISA—Centro Informazioni Sterilizzazione e Aborto (Center for Information on Sterilisation and Abortion).

# Flint '37: how the auto

On February 11, top officials of the United Auto Workers union and General Motors Corporation gathered in Detroit to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the UAW's first contract with GM. But the convivial atmosphere of the dinner at the St. Regis Hotel had little in common with the bloody class battles fought four decades ago to establish the union.

In the winter of 1936-37, strikers seized and held key GM plants in Flint, Michigan, to force the company to recognize their union. Flint was the most crucial victory in the rise of the industrial union movement.

A group of union officials, headed by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, had broken with the American Federation of Labor in November 1935. They announced a new movement, the Committee for Industrial Organization, to organize the millions of unorganized workers in mass production—organize them on an industry-wide basis, without the crippling craft divisions of the old AFL.

The GM strike was initiated by militant auto workers who overruled the cautious strategies of the CIO tops. GM's capitulation after six weeks paved the way for CIO victories throughout basic industry.

The story of the great Flint sit-down

strike is told by Art Preis in these excerpts from his book *Labor's Giant Step*.

Top union officials today believe that such bitter conflicts are all in the past. They abhor the methods of mass mobilization that built the unions—especially actions like the sit-down strikes that defied court injunctions and trampled on company property rights.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock told the assembled labor bureaucrats and corporate executives at the St. Regis that while they may still be adversaries in some areas they are "allies in the greater context."

GM Chairperson Thomas Murphy agreed. He addressed Woodcock as "Leonard" and thanked him for the union's help in opposing auto pollution controls.

Murphy said he envisioned the day when strikes "will virtually never be used as a weapon."

Whether these goodwill toasts will hold true depends on one basic question: are the interests of worker and boss the same, or are they opposed? Auto workers beset by layoffs, speedup, and rising prices inflicted by the corporate profiteers can judge for themselves. And in the battles to come they are sure to find the heritage of Flint '37 more useful than that of St. Regis '77.



## By Art Preis

The United Automobile Workers, which joined the CIO formally in July 1936, was the closest to a rank-and-file controlled organization in the new CIO. By their own efforts in battle against the AFL Executive Council, the auto workers had established their own international union in 1935. At the UAW's second convention, the last week of April and beginning of May 1936, they completed the job by ousting [AFL President] William Green's handpicked President Dillon, and electing their own officers under their own constitution.

The first fight at the convention occurred over Dillon's attempt to prevent the seating of the militant Toledo delegation, comprising 17 per cent of all delegates. It was these veterans of the Toledo Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes who set the pace.

This convention unanimously adopted a resolution calling for formation of a national labor party. Only a personal plea from [John L.] Lewis to the convention, with an impassioned appeal by the newly-elected UAW President Homer Martin, secured passage of a last-minute rider to the political resolution to support Roosevelt in the forthcoming national elections.

Principles of union democracy were built into the constitution and practice of the UAW so firmly then, that more than two decades of bureaucratization have not eradicated them entirely. The convention rejected a resolution to bar "communists" and opened the union to all auto workers regardless of race, creed, religion, national origin or politics.

It must be added that young militants of all radical tendencies, especially the Socialist Party (whose left wing then included the Trotskyists) and the Commu-

nist Party, played a most active and influential role in the convention.

There were several flashes of lightning before the GM storm. On November 13, 1936, a spontaneous sit-down strike halted operations of the Fisher Body No. 1 plant in Flint. The union won its point and the UAW started to sign up new members by the hundreds.

Robert Travis, a member of the 1935 strike committee in Toledo Chevrolet, and Wyndham Mortimer, a Cleveland auto worker on the UAW board, were sent into Flint to aid the drive. Both of them were already under Stalinist influence, but they were still fresh from strike struggles and retained a good bit of their native militancy.

In the next several weeks there were successful sit-down occupations at the Bendix plant in South Bend, Midland Steel Products in Detroit, and a five-day sit-down at Kelsey-Hayes wheel plant in Detroit.

Meanwhile, a strike flared at Fisher Body in Atlanta over the discharge of four men wearing union buttons. When the Atlanta workers appealed for an extension of the walkout, the CIO strategists termed such a move "premature."

Disgusted with stalling around, some 7,000 workers at Cleveland Fisher Body, organized by Mortimer, struck December 28, 1936. They announced they would not work until a national GM contract was signed. More than a thousand strikers occupied the plant.

Two days later, on the morning after they had presented management with a contract demand, workers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2 in Flint saw inspectors who supported the union being transferred. They sat down.

At Plant No. 1 that evening the night shift saw important dies being loaded onto trucks and boxcars

for Grand Rapids and Pontiac. They, too, sat down.

It was not until January 3, 1937, when the strike was already spreading like a brush fire through the GM plants, that 200 UAW delegates convened in Flint, created a board of strategy headed by Kermit Johnson of Flint, and authorized it to call a formal corporation-wide strike.

The next day GM was served with a set of eight demands, including union recognition and a signed contract; abolition of piecework; the 30-hour week and six-hour day; time and a half for overtime; minimum pay rates; reinstatement of discharged unionists; a seniority system; sole collective bargaining rights for the UAW; and union participation in regulating the pace of the belt lines.

Victory or defeat for the GM workers depended on a simple strategy: keeping their buttocks firmly planked on \$50 million worth of GM property until they got a signed contract.

GM's strategy was to get the workers out of the plants by hook or crook so that the police, deputies and National Guard could disperse them by force and violence.

## First injunction

On January 2, GM secured the first of its injunctions. A Judge Black issued an order to vacate the plants and to desist from picketing company property.

When the sheriff attempted to read the order, the sit-downers laughed him out of the plants.

On January 8 came the announcement of the formation of the Flint Alliance as "a voluntary movement of employees who wish to return to their work and are against the strike." This back-to-work movement, open to all citizens at large and not only GM workers, was headed by George E. Boysen.

A direct physical clash came on January 12. The company had shut off the heat that afternoon in an attempt to freeze out the sit-downers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2. Several hours later the Flint police announced there would be no more food allowed to enter the plant for the strikers.

A body of pickets finally stormed the entrance, forcing the police aside and carrying coffee and bread in to the sit-downers. Around 9 P.M., half of Flint's police force suddenly fell with clubs on the pickets at the entrance.

Tear gas was fired into the plant. Police sent volleys of buckshot through the windows. The strikers fought back with everything from hurled nuts and bolts to soda pop bottles.

A three-hour battle ensued. During the course of the

## About the author

Art Preis writes about the early struggles of the auto workers union as a participant, not just an observer.

In 1933 he helped organize the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo. Mass picketing by the unemployed league played a decisive role in winning the famous 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike—one of the battles that inspired the rise of the CIO.

A year later Toledo auto workers struck the Chevrolet transmission plant there . . . and won. It was the first time a strike had succeeded against General Motors or any of the Big Three auto makers. Preis was editor of *Strike Truth*, the strike newspaper.



Shortly after the 1934 strike Preis joined the Trotskyist movement. From 1940 until his death in 1964 he was a staff writer and then labor editor for the *Militant*.

The book *Labor's Giant Step* was Art Preis's outstanding accomplishment—a history of the CIO from its founding to its reunification with the AFL in 1955.

As Preis explains in this chapter from *Labor's Giant Step*, the Flint sit-down strike was led mainly by radical young workers. While some of them soon made their peace with capitalist politics and the union bureaucracy, others drew revolutionary conclusions from their experiences.

Some of the outstanding strike leaders—notably Kermit Johnson, who led the take-over of Chevrolet Plant 4, and Genora Johnson Dollinger, leader of the Women's Emergency Brigade—went on to join the Socialist Workers party, in which they were activists and leaders for many years.

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# Workers triumphed



struggle the strikers captured the sheriff's car and three police cruisers. When the police reformed ranks at midnight to make a new attack, the strikers brought into play their "secret weapon"—a plant fire hose that soaked the police with freezing water and finally drove them back to the other side of a bridge leading to the plant gates. Twenty-four strikers had been injured; 14 had gunshot wounds.

The "Battle of the Running Bulls" was the last attempt to recapture any GM plant by force. GM announced it would not try to use strikebreakers, a move it could scarcely employ anyway so long as the plants were occupied by strikers.

What force failed to do, GM sought to achieve through guile. The newly elected Democratic Governor Frank Murphy invited GM's Knudsen and UAW President Martin to Lansing on January 15. After a meeting, Murphy announced that a truce agreement had been reached for the sit-downers to leave five of the major struck plants on the weekend and then GM would start to negotiate on Monday.

The Cadillac and Fleetwood workers in Detroit marched out of the plants with banners and brass bands. The next day, Sunday, January 17, the Flint workers were to leave their forts.

Then the union learned that GM had wired Boysen of the Flint Alliance that "we stand ready always to discuss with your group" as well as with the legitimate union.

The truce blew up. Workers who were half way out of some plants rushed back in and took defensive posts. Others, preparing to leave, remained and locked the doors. Now the siege was on in earnest.

## No help from Roosevelt

Lewis believed his ace-in-the-hole was Roosevelt. The union leader sought to get the President to come out firmly in support of the GM workers.

On January 21, Lewis told a press conference: "The administration asked labor for help to repel this attack [on Roosevelt in the 1936 elections] and labor gave its help. The same economic royalists now have their fangs in labor. The workers of this country expect the administration to help the workers in every legal way and to support the workers in General Motors plants."

Roosevelt's reply the next day was a cold rebuke to Lewis: "Of course I think in the interest of peace that there come moments when statements, conversations, and headlines are not in order."

Subsequently, at the most critical point of the strike, Roosevelt phoned from the White House to

Lewis in Detroit to try to persuade Lewis to agree to a one-month contract in return for getting the workers to leave the occupied plants. He raised the offer to two and then three months, but Lewis stood firm for a minimum of a six-month pact.

On Tuesday, February 2, GM found another compliant judge, Paul V. Gadola, who issued an injunction ordering the strikers to evacuate the two Fisher plants by 3 P.M., Wednesday.

Anticipating the Fisher injunction, however, the strikers moved on February 1 to occupy a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet No. 4 where the Chevrolet motors were assembled—a real bottleneck.

The leader of the Chevrolet unionists was Kermit Johnson, a militant left-wing Socialist. Chevrolet No. 4 had not been shut down, as it was not certain whether the union had sufficient strength in the plant. A bold stratagem was devised to capture the plant by reinforcements from the outside.

A diversion was created. Several thousand strikers marched to Chevrolet Plant No. 9 from the union headquarters. They were led by Roy Reuther and Powers Hapgood.

GM informers, as had been expected, had tipped off management about the march on No. 9. Armed Flint detectives and company guards had been installed in the plant. The workers inside began yelling "sit-down!" and a forty-minute battle was waged inside the plant.

The Women's Emergency Brigade, organized and led by Genora Johnson (now Dollinger), fought heroically on the outside, smashing the windows to permit the tear gas to escape from the plant.

During this diversion, a group of Chevrolet No. 4 men, with some squads from Chevrolet No. 6, marched boldly into the No. 4 plant, shut down operations, barricaded doors and gates and set up patrols. Steel gondolas, weighing hundreds of pounds apiece, were piled against doors and windows from floor to ceiling.

That night, troops with bayonets marched ominously outside—but Murphy did not dare give an order to attack.

## 'Blood bath of unarmed workers'

The next day, when Judge Gadola issued his injunction setting a deadline for the following day, the strikers held meetings and voted to hold the plants at all costs.

The Fisher No. 1 workers wired Governor Murphy: "Unarmed as we are, the introduction of the militia, sheriffs, or police with murderous weapons will mean a blood bath of unarmed workers . . . We have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail. We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us many of us will be killed, and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the state of Michigan and the country that if this result follows from an attempt to eject us, you [Governor Murphy] are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths."

Early the next day, all the roads into Flint were jammed with cars loaded with unionists from Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac and Toledo. More than a thousand veterans of the Toledo Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes were on hand.

Rubber workers from Akron and coal miners from the Pittsburgh area joined the forces rallying to back the Flint strikers.

No police were in sight. The workers directed traffic. Barred from Fisher No. 2 and Chevrolet No. 4 by troops with machine guns and 37-millimeter howitzers, the workers from other areas formed a huge cordon around Fisher No. 1.

But when the showdown came, the sheriff refused to try to enforce the injunction. He passed the buck to Governor Murphy. New Dealer Murphy stalled, fearful of committing political suicide if he used the troops against the workers.

## 'You've got to do something!'

On February 8, the company tried to freeze the strikers out once more by turning off the heat. The strikers opened all windows and threatened to freeze the firefighting equipment in the plants, thus causing a violation of GM's fire insurance contracts and leaving its property unprotected by insurance.

GM howled at Murphy to enforce the injunction and he, in turn, went literally screaming in rage to Lewis: ". . . you've got to do something about this, Mr. Lewis. I demand that you do something."

Lewis replied: "I did not ask these men to sit-down. I did not ask General Motors to turn off the heat. I did not have any part of either the sit-down strike or the attempt to freeze the men. Let General Motors talk to them."

This was the literal truth. The GM strike was an uprising of the rank and file. Its leadership was mainly local young workers with radical social and political views.

A short while later most of them, like those under Stalinist leadership who became the most servile supporters of Roosevelt, and the Reuther brothers who broke their Socialist Party connections, became more and more adapted to capitalist politics and class collaboration. But for that one brief period of the historic GM sit-down, they were still close enough to the militant ranks, still sufficiently imbued with socialist ideas and the traditions of the old IWW and socialist fighters, to rise with the masses. The men they were then would have spit upon the men they were to become.

## Showdown

Once more, after he had pleaded with Lewis to betray the strikers Governor Murphy tried the threat of troops to frighten them. On the night of February 9 the National Guard in Flint, with 1,300 reinforcements, was alerted to seal off all highways and prevent reinforcements for the strikers.

The sit-downers refused to budge: they made weapons of defense in assembly-line fashion and awaited the attack.

Late that night, Murphy again went to Lewis and showed him an order he had signed for the troops to empty the plants by force the next day.

Lewis told him: "Tomorrow morning, I shall personally enter General Motors plant Chevrolet No. 4. I shall order the men to disregard your order, to stand fast. I shall then walk up to the largest window in the plant, open it, divest myself of my outer raiment, remove my shirt, and bare my bosom. Then when you order your troops to fire, mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike."

Murphy, his nerve broken, fled from the room.

## GM cracks

General Motors, fearful that any attack on the strikers in their determined mood would mean devastation of its plants and machinery, cracked. The muscular rumps of the GM workers pressed down on the chests of GM's corporate owners until they cried "Uncle!"

On February 11, 1937, GM signed a six-month agreement. It provided that the company would not recognize or deal with any other organization in the 17 plants closed by the UAW, that all unionists and strikers would be rehired, that unionism could be discussed on company property during lunch and rest periods, and that negotiations would proceed at once on wages, hours, production speedup, and other issues.

It wasn't much of a deal by present standards. But it was an inspiring victory to all American labor in 1937. The floodgates of class struggle were opened. The cry "sit-down!" echoed from one corner of the land to the other.

One month after the end of the GM strike, some 193,000 workers engaged in 247 sit-downs; nearly a half million took up this weapon before 1937 ended. The number of all strikes rose from 2,172 in 1936 to 4,740 in 1937, with 1,861,000 workers involved. That is the way the CIO was built and consolidated.

## Further reading

**THE STORY OF THE CIO** from the founding battles like Flint through World War II, bureaucratization, the postwar upsurge . . . then cold-war witch-hunt and antilabor offensive . . . to merger with the AFL in 1955. Art Preis tells the epic story of twenty years of class struggle in the United States.



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# SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Democratic and Republican party politicians often refer to the contests for city and state offices in 1977 as "off year" elections.

But 1977 will not be an "off year" for the mounting attacks on working people's rights and living standards. And it also won't be an "off year" for Socialist Workers party candidates, who are running in many state and local races this year.

Unlike the big-business-controlled Democratic and Republican parties, the SWP stands on the side of trade unionists fighting for jobs and a decent living; of women fighting for equal rights; of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; and of all working people.

The SWP candidates say that working people need to break with the Democrats and Republicans. The socialists urge working people to form an independent labor party to challenge the capitalist parties at the ballot box, in the streets, and on the job. A labor party based on a fighting union movement would fight to put human needs before profits.

In addition to the three campaigns reported on these pages, SWP campaigns are now under way in Atlanta, Chicago, New York City, Oakland, and Seattle. Many others will be launched soon. To help out, contact the campaign office nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31.

## SAN ANTONIO Garry & Gonzalez: 'Put human needs before profits'

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—"I am a waitress, a feminist, and a member of the Socialist Workers party." That's how Susan Garry, candidate for mayor of San Antonio, answers people who ask for her qualifications.

Her running mate, Andrés González, candidate for City Council, District Seven, is equally proud of his qualifications. He's a Chicano activist, a student, and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Together, these two socialist candidates are speaking the truth and discussing the real issues here in San Antonio.

And many working people in this predominantly Chicano, south Texas city are responding favorably.

Case in point: On February 1 Susan Garry spoke at a public hearing on the city's lawsuit against the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, which has doubled and tripled gas prices in the past few years.

The *Chicano Times* reported, "Susan Garry of the SWP told the audience that the gas belonged to all the people just like the water and air we breathe. She was greeted with loud applause."

Garry and González are also warmly received on the

picket lines in front of the three plants of Friedrich Air Conditioning, one of San Antonio's biggest industries.

The 700 Friedrich workers have been on strike for more than eight weeks. The city has attempted to break the strike by contracting its buses to transport scabs across picket lines.

The last time Garry visited the line, a picket captain told her to call the press and have them take pictures of her with the strikers.

When González visited, many strikers recognized him. He had been on TV the night before, condemning the

city for its alliance with the company.

"These two issues—the Lo-Vaca suit and the Friedrich strike—really show the difference between our campaign and that of our Democratic and Republican party opponents," Garry said recently in an interview at her West Side headquarters.

"In fact, the other candidates for mayor have made a pact: support to Lo-Vaca and support to the owners of Friedrich. On these two issues, which affect all working people in San Antonio, my opponents stand in agreement."

Garry's mayoral opponents are accustomed to making pacts with each other. Two of them, Lila Cockrell—the present mayor—and Dr. José San Martín, had been allies in San Antonio's Good Government League for more than two decades.

The Good Government League (GGL) was a machine that dominated city politics from the mid-1950s until 1975. Its board consisted of the forty wealthiest people in the area, the majority of whom did not live in San Antonio.

It disbanded in 1976 as a result of a lawsuit and referendum that changed city elections from at-large to single-district representation. The GGL's offspring, Alliance for a Better City, spent nearly \$50,000 to defeat the referendum.

San Martín was a founder of the GGL. He and Cockrell were the last two candidates in the city to ask for GGL support in 1975. San Martín supported Cockrell for mayor that year.

A third mayoral candidate here is John Monfrey. As Garry pointed out in a recent speech before the San Antonio Democratic League:

"John Monfrey doesn't just represent the rich—he is the rich. He owns the Pearl Beer distributorship, the local Falstaff brewery, and sits on the board of several banks and corporations."

"He spent more than \$250,000 on his last bid for mayor." Later, when Monfrey himself spoke, he contested the figure. "Actually, I spent \$50,000 more than that," he said.

Andrés González's major opponent in District Seven is Richard Teniente, an incumbent Democrat. "Teniente, like the mayoral candidates, has distinguished himself by his silence on the issues," González pointed out.

"My district is predominantly Chicano. It has a lot of dirt roads, terrible housing, and high unemployment. When it rains, it's easier to swim than to walk or drive."

"A lot of people are just getting by. Many have relatives and friends from Mexico here without documents. Richard Teniente has never spoken to the needs of any of them," he said.

"Instead, Teniente has spent his time representing the developers and corporations on the North Side. Just last year he voted for development over the Edwards Aquifer, which could ruin our water supply," González explained.

Another issue that separates the socialist candidates from their opponents is women's rights.

## LOS ANGELES Sam Manuel: mayoral candidate in the news

Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, has been on a busy schedule. Los Angeles mayoral candidates have spoken before many civic and political meetings. At several, Manuel has been able to confront and debate other mayoral contestants.

Along with his running mate, Virginia Garza, SWP school board nominee, Manuel has focused on the demand for a massive school busing plan.

Manuel's campaign has made progress in breaking into the media. One significant gain has been the coverage in the *Los Angeles Times*, the area's major daily.

Over the years, socialist candidates have been hard-pressed to win even a mention in the *Times*. But the *Times* editors seem to have reconsidered—at least partially—their previous insistence that the SWP is

not "newsworthy."

In the present mayoral campaign, *Times* political writer Kenneth Reich has been covering the various candidates.

We reprint here excerpts from an article by Reich on Manuel's campaign—the second in a series on the candidates. The socialist candidate's positions have been reported in several other *Times* campaign articles, and excerpts from some of these also follow.

While Reich's political opinions regarding Manuel's campaign obviously differ from those of Manuel and his supporters, his reporting is informative and should be of interest to our readers.

After Mayor Bradley stiffened his antibusing stand last week, saying that Los Angeles blacks don't want busing either, there was only one candidate among the dozen running for mayor who took exception.

That was 27-year-old Sam Manuel, an organizer for the Socialist Workers Party here, a desegregation activist with experience in the Boston school integration controversy, and an ardent and open advocate of radical change in Los Angeles government.

Taking time out from participating in the picketing of the Federal Building downtown last Friday noon over a civil rights case, Manuel expressed his views about Bradley and his antibusing statement.

"I'm not surprised," he said bitterly. "I'd just like to say his attitude on this issue is atrocious and I think it's a slap in the face of the black community and it's an affront to the historic civil rights movement for a black mayor who came to the mayor's office on the crest of the black civil rights movement to betray that by taking the stand Bradley's taking on busing."

Once again, Manuel, a black who grew up in Columbus, Ga., had expressed him-

### SOCIALIST SAM MANUEL

## Mayoral Candidate Takes Stand Apart

BY KENNETH REICH

Times Political Writer

After Mayor Bradley stiffened his antibusing stand last week, saying that Los Angeles blacks don't want

firmative action policy for the hiring of homosexuals into city jobs. On many occasions appears that

self clearly and concisely on a major issue in the mayor's race—and in a way that set his position apart from all the other candidates.

In this contest, besides forcefully advocating massive busing to enforce racial integration in the schools, Manuel is also the only candidate to advocate opening American borders freely to aliens coming here in search of work. He is the only candidate to favor total abolition of the police force.

At one recent candidates night, at Eagle Rock High School, when Michael Hirt, one of the other candidates, suggested that as a Socialist Manuel should not be allowed on the ballot, a number of persons in the audience rose

to defend his democratic rights.

And Saturday, when the conservative [mayoral candidate Alan] Robbins was appearing before a group in the Fairfax district and Manuel spoke up from the audience, Robbins went out of his way to say that he had always found him to be a civil person who ably presented his views.

Characteristically, Manuel promptly described Robbins as "repugnant and racist" and charged that by passing out rape whistles and other actions in his campaign the Van Nuys state senator was giving support to "racist hysteria." But in saying these things, he did not raise his voice.

Unlike some of the other



# '77 CAMPAIGNS UNDER WAY



Susan Garry (right) and Andrés González

Garry is a leading member of the National Organization for Women. She is also a member of San Antonians for the ERA.

Garry helped organize south Texas participation in the Springfield, Illinois, ERA demonstration last May. Since then, she has helped build several pro-ERA speak-outs and demonstrations in the San Antonio area.

Garry said that Mayor Lila Cockrell's performance in office had been very instructive to her. "Even though she's a woman, women have been attacked by her administration."

"Since 1975 the proportion of women employed by the city has declined. And she has done nothing to defend our other rights."

"This helped convince me," Garry went on, "that women

will be able to defend their rights only by relying on their own power, not by trusting in Democrats or Republicans like Lila Cockrell and Jimmy Carter."

The same goes for Chicanos and *mexicanos* here in San Antonio. Their living conditions, their jobs, even their lives, are constantly under attack.

Recently it was revealed that two *mexicanos* without documents were murdered by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Yet grand juries found no wrongdoing.

Earlier this year a Chicano was found murdered by jail guards in the county prison.

Officials here continue to frame up Raza Unida party activists.

Yet at no time have any of Garry's opponents mentioned

these issues.

"San Martin particularly disturbs me," Andrés González said. "Many Chicanos are going to support San Martin because they think he's one of us. But if he was one of us, he would talk about the things that concern us."

"Why doesn't San Martin condemn these murders and other attacks on undocumented workers? Why doesn't he personally investigate the county jail?"

"Why doesn't he speak out against the attacks on Raza Unida party? Why doesn't he complain when Chicanos are laid off disproportionately at Kelly Air Force Base?"

"San Martin is not our representative," González continued. "As a GGL stalwart, he represents the banks and the developers. We might as well have Monfrey or Cockrell as to have him."

Just one visit to the campaign headquarters of Susan Garry and Andrés González makes it clear who working people and students should support in the April 2 election.

Located in the heart of the West Side barrio, the office is filled with banners and placards showing support for the ERA, for undocumented workers, for bilingual-bicultural education, for an end to the death penalty, and for the farm workers.

The brochure that the campaign is distributing is bilingual, with a very simple headline: "Human needs before profits—vote socialist." In San Antonio, that headline alone will convince many people.

## ST. LOUIS Ballot status a big boost

By Norton Sandler

ST. LOUIS—Winning a round in its long fight against Missouri's undemocratic election laws, the St. Louis Socialist Workers party was granted automatic ballot status in both the March 8 primary and the April 5 general election.

As a result, the SWP's candidates—Helen Savio for mayor and Mary Pritchard for comptroller—have spoken almost nightly before such organizations as the Welsley House Community Center, the Murphy-Blair Neighborhood Association, the Wayman AME Temple, the Coalition to Save All Four Hospitals, and many others.

Savio is running against Democrats James Conway and A. J. Cervantes and Republican James Stemmler.

Cervantes was mayor of St. Louis from 1965 to 1973. He portrays himself as a "super-salesman" with the ability to attract tourists and businesses to the city. For example, while mayor, he purchased a replica of Columbus's exploration vessel the *Santa Maria* as a Mississippi riverfront tourist attraction. The *Santa Maria*, however, sank shortly after its arrival on the waterfront.

But Cervantes is not all buffoon. His administration launched a campaign of police terror against civil rights struggles here. In 1969 Cervantes's cops brutally crushed a rent strike at the Cochran Housing Projects. His police also severely beat civil rights leader Rev. Charles Koen and left him for dead on the Illinois side of the river.

Conway, who owns a million-dollar-a-year plastics business, is backed by almost every major corporation head in the area. Budweiser Beer magnate August Busch serves as honorary chairperson of his campaign committee.

When pressed on the issues, the Democratic candidates discuss the fight against crime, revitalizing neighborhoods, and whether St. Louis should retain its airport after 1990 or build a new one a few miles away in Illinois.

The SWP candidates "are raising issues more vital to working people," Savio, a school teacher and active

member of American Federation of Teachers Local 420, said in a recent interview.

"To the rich white Democratic and Republican candidates, for example, desegregation is not an 'issue,'" Savio complains. "But it is. The school board is trying to duck the legal challenges to St. Louis's segregated school system filed by the NAACP and the Northside Concerned Parents Association."

"The mayoral candidates should discuss not only where the airplanes will depart from in 1990," Savio said, "but more importantly, whether Black schoolchildren will now depart on buses for desegregated schools or continue to be cheated out of an education by the racist St. Louis school board."

Savio also cited the socialists' demand to repeal Law 353. This law exempts downtown corporations from property tax payments for up to twenty-five years. "These tax dollars are needed to rebuild the schools and hospitals of this city," she said.

On the evening of February 24 Mary Pritchard spoke to eighty supporters at a campaign rally. Just hours before, the Black socialist had also addressed a very spirited demonstration of more than 800 for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Pritchard blasted the failure of the incumbent comptroller, Black Democrat John Bass, to campaign for the needs of the Black community.

"What did Bass do to protest the shooting down of nine Black youths by St. Louis cops during the last year?" she angrily asked. "Where was John Bass when J. B. Johnson was framed up and sent to jail? Where was John Bass when Gerald Garret was framed up?"

Johnson and Garrett are two Blacks convicted by all-white juries whose defense efforts have gained considerable support in the Black community here.

Pritchard says that Bass's record shows the need for Blacks in St. Louis "to break out of the political dead end of the Democratic party and launch an independent political party of, by, and for our own community."

lesser-known candidates running for mayor, Manuel makes no claims he may end up winning the election.

What he and other young people who are active in the five Los Angeles area headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party say they are after is to build up their organization, to bring radical ideas to public attention and to show economically down-trodden people that another political way exists.

Speaking in Eagle Rock recently, Manuel declared, "I think if any of the other candidates are elected, and they probably will be, I don't think that anything fundamentally is going to change."

All of these candidates represent one thing. They work primarily for the interests of large corporations, which has been revealed through the Downtown Redevelopment Projects.

I say that the only way we're really going to change this is if we begin to build a new government which involves us, a party which is funded not by the rich in society but a workers' party.

—February 28, 1977

Manuel wanted to list himself as a Socialist Worker organizer—which is what he is occupationally—on the ballot, but California's nonpartisan local elections law prohibits any mention of a political



Militant/Harry Ring  
SAM MANUEL

party beside a mayoral candidate's name. So he settled for School Desegregation Activist as an occupational designation.

Former U.S. Senate candidate Tom Hayden said recently that consumer and economic survival political action groups around the city had met and decided not to field a mayoral candidate this year, in part because of Bradley's liberal aura and a feeling that challenging him might be counterproductive.

Manuel said Wednesday he disagreed with this decision.

Citing Bradley's conservative statements at the mayor's announcement for reelection earlier this week, and particularly Bradley's opposition to "any massive cross-town busing" as a means of integrating the schools, Manuel said he thinks the absence of strong left-wing op-

position to the mayor had encouraged him to move to the right. —January 6, 1977

[The following is from an article describing a meeting of the mayoral candidates, except Bradley, to discuss possible debates.]

More importantly, there was an exchange on the issue of mass busing to bring about school integration which saw Robbins accosted from the left by Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party organizer who is running for mayor.

Manuel came to the meeting with a prepared statement challenging both Robbins and Bradley to defend their opposition to busing and he then spoke in favor of it.

"My stand is somewhat different than yours," Robbins responded, "I'm opposed to mandatory busing."

"And I'm for enforcing the law," Manuel shot back."

—January 20, 1977

On Sunday two weeks ago, when Bradley opened two campaign headquarters in the black community, a reporter dropped in at Manuel's headquarters in the Crenshaw district unannounced just to see what it was like. It turned out there were 200 persons meeting there on the campaign, a larger crowd than Bradley had at either of his openings that same afternoon. —February 21, 1977



Militant/Chris Smith  
HELEN SAVIO



Militant/Pat Hayes  
MARY PRITCHARD



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti  
MICHAEL HARRINGTONMilitant/Lou Howort  
RALPH SCHOENMANMilitant/Lou Howort  
PAVEL LITVINOV

## Heated debate at NY Bukovsky meeting

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—A hot debate on the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union and how to defend those rights erupted here March 5 at the first New York appearance of recently released Soviet political prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky.

Some 3,000 people attended the meeting, which was sponsored by the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP).

The CDSPP had invited speakers from differing political viewpoints: exiled Soviet dissidents Pavel Litvinov and Andrei Grigorenko; Greta Pentsen, mother of Soviet Jewish political prisoner Boris Pentsen; Ralph Schoenman, representing the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee; and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) national chairperson Michael Harrington.

After opening remarks by CDSPP chairperson Mariya Mikolenko, Harrington was the first to speak. Calling himself a "democratic socialist," Harrington said he believes the regime in the Soviet Union is not socialist but "armed against the working people."

"We must support freedom for all the dissidents, no matter what their opinion," he said. "If I disagree with Solzhenitsyn—and I do—I am for the right of Solzhenitsyn to say his mind along with everyone else."

"Precisely as a socialist," Harrington explained, "I solidarize with the struggle for democracy, because it

leads to socialism."

At this point a chorus of boos went up from a large group of older Russian and Ukrainian émigrés, interrupting Harrington's remarks. Such émigrés composed perhaps 60 to 70 percent of the audience. Judging from the response to the chairperson's requests for order, the remaining 30 to 40 percent of the audience supported Harrington's right to speak.

The DSOC leader tried to continue. While welcoming stepped-up appeals by President Carter for human rights in the Soviet bloc, Harrington said Carter "must also speak out on human rights in those countries allied with U.S. society."

Harrington began to denounce U.S. support to the dictatorships in Chile and Iran. But he was again interrupted by booing and shouting, making it impossible for him to finish his remarks without repeated interruptions.

After Harrington sat down, Greta Pentsen and Andrei Grigorenko spoke without interruption.

Ralph Schoenman was the next speaker. Schoenman was a central organizer in the late 1960s of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In 1969 he helped organize a similar tribunal in Sweden to protest the Kremlin's occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Schoenman said he was speaking not only to urge support for Mustafa Dzhemilev—the imprisoned Soviet Cri-

mean Tatar dissident—but also to express his opposition as a revolutionary socialist to the general suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Schoenman denounced the crimes of the privileged bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union today. He said this Stalinist regime has done much to discredit the age-old dream of socialism, liberty, and justice—ideals for which Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, and Lenin stood.

At that, cries of "Communist! Shut up! Go back to Russia!" again exploded from a section of the audience. Others in the crowd countered with a chant, "Let him speak."

But the booing succeeded in preventing Schoenman from finishing his prepared remarks.

Pavel Litvinov, the next speaker, was one of those who demonstrated in Moscow's Red Square against the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Kremlin troops. Today he is the representative in the West of the Soviet human rights journal *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Litvinov said that he is not a socialist but that he is opposed to denying socialists the right to speak.

Many prisoners in the Soviet Union today, he pointed out, are socialists. Trotskyists had been persecuted by the rulers in Moscow, he said, along with Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and nonsocialist fighters against national oppression.

In order to bring unity to the

movement for democratic rights, Litvinov said, all persons must have the right to state their views. This is well understood in the democratic movement in the USSR, he continued. And it is distressing that supporters of the dissidents abroad are still disunited.

Bukovsky, the last speaker, explained that he was very tired and would speak only briefly. He opened his remarks by making it clear that "all who speak here are welcomed by me."

Bukovsky said that too little is known in the West about the conditions of life in the USSR. He presented his view that totalitarianism is "a direct consequence of the Communist idea."

Bukovsky said he is often asked about "Eurocommunism." "It is not important what the 'Eurocommunists' think about themselves," he said, "but what the Soviet Communists think about them."

He predicted that "in the end it will be the Soviet Communists who decide when to 'save' socialism in France or Italy" the way they had in Czechoslovakia.

In concluding, Bukovsky expressed the support of the dissidents in the USSR for human rights throughout the world. "We are not from the conservative camp," he said, "nor the revolutionary camp. We are from the concentration camp. There it does not matter if you are left, right, or center; you all eat the same gruel."

## Rally demands Bronx hospital be put to use

By Terie Balias and Evelyn Casellas

NEW YORK—More than 200 South Bronx residents and hospital workers rallied February 26 to "Save Lincoln Hospital."

The rally was called by the South Bronx Community and Church Coalition to protest recent layoffs at Lincoln and to demand that the seven-month-old hospital be opened to full capacity.

At the rally Nilsa Saniel, student government president at Hostos Community College, linked the struggle to maintain adequate health services with the struggle to save Hostos. Hostos, the only bilingual college on the East Coast, is located just three blocks from the Bronx hospital. Like Lincoln, it is fighting for its life in the face of massive city cutbacks.

Another speaker was Ramón Jiménez, chairperson of the newly formed City Wide Community Coalition. The coalition has called an April 15 New York protest day against all cuts in welfare, day care, education, and health services.

José Rivera, a worker at Lincoln Hospital, also spoke, along with members of Bronx community school

boards, the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and the North Central Bronx Action Committee.

Terie Balias, a representative of the South Bronx Community and Church Coalition, read the coalition's statement of purpose. The statement demanded:

- Open Lincoln to full capacity—with full staffing and full budget.
- Rehire all laid-off workers. No layoffs! No cutbacks!

- An open election of all positions on the Lincoln Community Advisory Board.
- Community and staff input in choosing the new administration and supervision of the hospital.

Balias encouraged everyone to join the coalition and attend the meetings held every Thursday at 7:30 p.m. at St. Anne's Church (295 St. Anne's Avenue in the Bronx).

Herena Valentine, chairperson of the coalition, was the final speaker. "We must organize and struggle and fight for delivery of services in this hospital," he said. "There is a lot of money around. The banks have lots of money. They are closing our hospitals and our schools but the banks never get closed down. The people together can never be defeated."

The rally ended with a march through the South Bronx community.

## Coalition repudiates physical attack

NEW YORK—During the February 26 rally to "Save Lincoln Hospital," members of the Revolutionary Communist party (RCP) and New York-New Jersey United Workers Organization (UWO) physically attacked a group of other rally participants.

The victimized protesters were supporters of Socialist Workers party New York mayoral candidate Catarino Garza. The attackers pushed and shoved the socialists and tried to destroy their banner.

Garza's supporters are active participants in the South Bronx Community and Church Coalition, which sponsored the rally. Understanding that cops can use such incidents as an excuse to attack demonstrations, the socialists refused to respond to provocations by the two groups.

At the March 3 meeting of the South Bronx Community and Church Coalition, community activists voted unanimously to denounce the attacks and demanded an apology from both the RCP and UWO.

A UWO representative at the meeting apologized. The coalition sent a letter to the RCP requesting a similar apology. So far the RCP has not responded.

SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza deplored the attack in a telegram to the RCP. Violence, "is not a legitimate method of resolving political differences . . ." he said. "We urge you to review your members' conduct in this incident and publicly repudiate the use of violence in the movement."



# 'Militant' sales in Germantown: 'Let people know we're here'

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—The aging green hulks that are called streetcars here in Philadelphia are packed with people who are angry at SEPTA, the transportation authority. The cars are slow. They are grimy. They fall apart on their wheels.

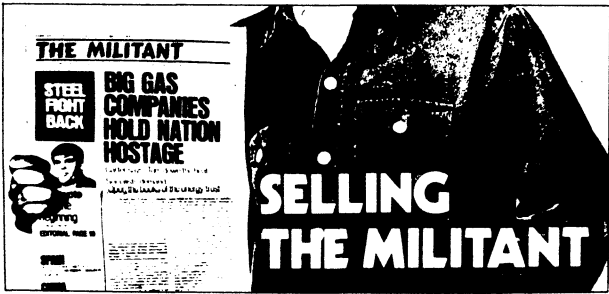
John Connolly is jammed in the crowd at the back of a streetcar on Germantown Avenue. The people are fuming. The streetcar is stalled.

"A lot of people get on the driver," Connolly says, "so I decide to get in my two cents and say, 'It's SEPTA's fault, not the driver's.'"

"The employers are cutting back transportation, and we have to support the drivers that are being laid off."

Connolly pulls out the last *Militant* he has with him and sells it.

Someone says, "The *Militant*? I've seen that



before. Don't you have the bookstore up on the avenue?"

Then somebody else says, "Yeah, the bookstore across the street from the high school."

Pretty soon the whole back of the streetcar is talking about the paper and what to do about SEPTA.

\* \* \*

Connolly's experience is not unique. He's a member of the Germantown branch of the Socialist Workers party. The branch has made selling the paper a top priority, together with publicizing the Militant Bookstore and weekly Militant Forum. They want to let people in Germantown know the socialists are here, because the branch was established only six months ago.

The first week of the sales drive this winter, the postal system delivered the papers late.

So the socialists sold only 81. The next week they sold 143. And the following week 178, going over their goal of 175.

\* \* \*

Mike Findley, a new member of the branch, is experimenting with sales in the Puerto Rican neighborhood near Germantown. He does not fare well. Then he meets someone selling bilingual *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The *Claridad* hawker is also having a hard time.

So Findley tries a different tack.

He walks into a Puerto Rican bookstore. When he comes out, the bookstore has taken a bundle of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a socialist Spanish-language magazine.

\* \* \*

"Mostly we sell to Blacks," says Jeanne Stevens, the branch's sales director. From articles analyzing *Roots*, to reports on the struggle against apartheid, the paper has a special relevance to this community.

She says sales teams paste up leaflets for a Militant Forum while they are out. Sometimes results are encouraging. For example, a few weeks ago more than 130 people came to hear *Militant* staff writer Omari Musa discuss the meaning of Malcolm X's ideas for the Black struggle today.

Stevens says *Militant* salespeople go wherever things are happening. The weekend following the Malcolm X forum, socialists sold at a series of Dick Gregory performances. They also handed out leaflets for the bookstore, the next forum, and a Sunday afternoon rally for Khotso Seatholo, a leader of the South African student rebellion in Soweto.

"What we've found," Stevens said, "is that the same people who buy a *Militant* come to a forum or an antiapartheid meeting. Or they come into our bookstore because they recognize the name from the paper. And more and more we're getting to recognize the people on the street who recognize us."

A friendly competition is developing in the branch. Stevens is behind it. "We want to see who will sell the most papers and go out the most times," Stevens said. "We're stressing consistent effort and high sales at the same time."

\* \* \*

During the frigid weeks leading up to the sales kickoff, Joel Hodroff says, "We thought it was going to be rough sledding for the drive. It was too bitter to sell outside."

So he and other party members went underground—to subway stations and trains. They sold more than sixty papers the first time they tried it. "Now we do it regularly," Hodroff says.

\* \* \*

I sell at a supermarket every week. One Saturday a construction worker stops when I tell him about the *Militant's* coverage of Ed Sadlow's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers.

"I'm unemployed," he says. I tell him about Fight Back's position on jobs. He buys the paper.

A Black eighth-grade student looks at a paper

## You can help

YOU CAN HELP the *Militant* make its goal of selling 10,000 or more a week by ordering a bundle of five or more at twenty-five cents each. Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

he's never seen before. But he recognizes the name and logo from a forum leaflet.

"You're the ones who had the meeting about executions, right?"

"I wanted to come, but my mother wouldn't let me stay out that late."

\* \* \*

It's Saturday afternoon. Nearly 100 papers have been sold in a few hours and more people have stopped in the bookstore to buy the *Militant* or other literature.

A blue post office van cruises by. The young Black uniformed driver looks at the sign in front of the Militant Bookstore. Then he flashes a fist to the person standing in the doorway.

## Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	St. Paul	80	63	78.8	Kansas City, Mo.	100	56	56.0
Dallas	100	114	114.0	Milwaukee	250	186	74.4	Pittsburgh	175	95	54.3
Indianapolis	100	114	114.0	Seattle	215	157	73.0	Minneapolis	300	139	46.3
Newark	225	247	109.8	Berkeley, Calif.	250	180	72.0	San Antonio	125	52	41.6
Phoenix	100	104	104.0	St. Louis	300	216	72.0	Boston	520	208	40.0
Miami	75	77	102.7	Cleveland	200	143	71.5	San Diego	200	77	38.5
Raleigh, N.C.	40	40	100.0	Salt Lake City	100	70	70.0	New Orleans	200	64	32.0
Tacoma, Wash.	70	70	100.0	Baltimore	150	104	69.3				
Philadelphia	400	378	94.5	Denver	200	138	69.0	Total			
Portland, Ore.	200	185	92.5	Richmond, Va.	75	51	68.0	March 4 issue	10,000	7,126	71.3
Toledo	100	90	90.0	New York City	1,100	743	67.5				
Los Angeles	650	567	87.2	San Jose	200	133	66.5				
Louisville	125	106	84.8	Washington, D.C., Area	400	257	64.3	Young Socialist teams			
Albany, N.Y.	75	63	84.0	San Francisco	550	338	61.5	Southwest	90	91	101.1
Atlanta	400	333	83.3	Detroit	395	240	60.8	Northeast	90	67	74.4
Oakland, Calif.	250	205	82.0	Houston	400	240	60.0	East Great Lakes	90	56	62.2
Cincinnati	125	102	81.6	Chicago	650	381	58.6	Total	270	214	79.3

# No socialist alternative in Madison mayoral race

By Warren Dean

MADISON, Wis.—Voters here went to the polls on February 15 in the first round of balloting to select a new mayor. The race pitted incumbent Paul Soglin against five challengers. They ranged from a leading right-winger to a self-proclaimed socialist.

Conservative Anthony Amato polled the most votes in the "nonpartisan" primary. The runner-up was Soglin, followed by "socialist" Michael Sack. This means that Soglin and Amato will square off in the April 5 runoff.

Madison is both the state capital and the home of the University of Wisconsin, and students are a big force in municipal politics.

Soglin's election as mayor in 1973 drew nationwide media attention. Soglin, an ex-student and antiwar activist, defeated incumbent William Dyke, who had several times set police on antiwar demonstrations and student gatherings. Dyke was the running mate of 1976 presidential candidate Lester Maddox.

The initial high hopes and enthusiasm behind the Soglin movement have turned sour. Some concluded Soglin's performance in office was not substantially different from his predecessor's. This set the stage for the Sack campaign.

President of the city council, Sack is a member of the Socialist party USA, a Wisconsin-based grouping—although Sack would admit his membership only when asked, hastening to add that his dues are not paid up.

On campus, Sack built up a volunteer organization of some strength. He received the endorsement of the city's major alternative newspaper and of the student paper, the *Daily Cardinal*. His membership in a socialist organization actually helped him win much of this support from people who are looking for an alternative.

Sack himself, however, throughout the campaign refused to be "labeled." He actively sought conservative votes by boasting that he was a fiscal conservative, and would cut city services to keep a "balanced" budget. Like the rest of the candidates in this supposedly nonpartisan race, he kept his platform to issues of municipal reform.

The Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement the day before the primary election explaining why they refused to endorse any of the candidates for mayor, including Sack. The statement was printed in the *Daily Cardinal*.

"Socialism finds no place in Sack's platform," the statement said. "He simply proposes a package of mild municipal reforms that nibble at the edges of the status quo."

The statement went on the contrast Sack's campaign to that of Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York. Garza castigated the energy trust during the natural gas crisis, demanding that the oil companies open their books to bare their schemes to drive up prices.

"Sack shuns such positions which challenge the prerogatives of the capitalist corporations," the YSA pointed out.

Finally, the YSA urged participation in actions in defense of women's rights on International Women's Day, March 8, and in defense of the South African liberation struggle on March 25-26.

Interestingly, the Socialist party USA group here failed to endorse Sack's campaign. They have taken no public position on the mayoral race.



SOGLIN



SACK

# WHO PUT IDI AMIN IN POWER?



**By Ernest Harsch**  
From *Intercontinental Press*

Since mid-February, there have been a growing number of reports by Ugandan refugees in neighboring Kenya that the military dictatorship of Idi Amin is conducting a campaign of terror against the Ugandan population.

The reports of atrocities may well be true. Amin is a brutal capitalist dictator, whose rule is based on forcible suppression of even the mildest dissent.

However, unlike comparable reports of the use of terror in Iran, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and other bastions of the "free world," these accounts of rule by terror in Uganda have received sustained and prominent coverage in the major capitalist dailies of the West. The obvious aim is to prepare world public opinion for imperialist intervention to topple Amin and replace him with a figurehead better suited to maintaining stable, neocolonial rule in Uganda.

After Amin announced February 25 that all Americans were barred from leaving the country, the Carter administration intimated that it was considering direct military intervention against Uganda. The White House let it be known that it was prepared to issue orders to the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, which is stationed in the Indian Ocean. Amin's prohibition against Americans leaving Uganda was later lifted.

The imperialists' real concern in Uganda has nothing to do with human rights. To prove that, let us go back to Amin's origin as a political figure. He came to power under the sponsorship of London, Tel Aviv, and Washington. And they knew him very well.

## Trained by Britain

Idi Amin is a direct product of British colonialism, which ruled Uganda from the late nineteenth century until 1962.

As in other British colonies, the authorities employed troops from the colonial peoples themselves to help maintain the empire. In 1946, Amin, a Muslim Kakwa from the West Nile district of northern Uganda, joined the

King's African Rifles as a private. Within seven years he was promoted to lance-corporal. According to a biography of Amin published in the October 29, 1972, London *Sunday Times Magazine*, he displayed "the qualities that so endeared him to his British superiors—instant obedience, fierce regimental pride, reverence towards Britain and the British. . . ."

In 1953, Amin proved his willingness to protect imperialist interests when he fought with the British against the Mau Mau freedom fighters in Kenya. The massive Mau Mau rebellion in the early 1950s posed a major challenge to Britain's control over Kenya and was crushed only after the British conducted large-scale counterinsurgency actions and murdered thousands of rebels.

"There is some evidence," Michael Kaufman reported in the July 10, 1976, *New York Times*, "that during the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya . . . Sergeant Major Amin distinguished himself by leading attacks on the terrorists and reportedly torturing and killing men suspected of Mau Mau sympathies."

As London moved toward formal decolonization of its African empire, it carefully prepared the ground for the installation of Black neocolonial regimes willing and able to safeguard its continued economic interests. The colonial authorities in Uganda viewed Amin as a suitable candidate for the job.

Since the top layers of the officer corps in the colonial army were white, London began to train Black officers to take their place. Amin was promoted to the newly created rank of effendi in 1959 and was later sent to Britain to take an officer's training course at the School of Infantry in Wiltshire. After Uganda gained its formal independence in 1962, he assumed command of one of the two battalions in the new Ugandan army. In 1966 he was promoted to army chief of staff by Prime Minister Milton Obote.

## The Israeli connection

During the early 1960s, Britain's direct military support to the Ugandan regime was phased out and Israel took on the main role of training the new army.

Amin himself received paratrooper training in Israel. In 1968, as army commander, he visited Israel to attend Tel Aviv's independence day celebrations and was given several Sherman tanks that the Israelis had captured from Egypt during the June 1967 Middle East war.

The ties between Obote and Tel Aviv deteriorated, however, as did those with London. In 1970 Obote nationalized eighty-five companies operating in Uganda and pledged to take over more. The Obote regime also broke diplomatic relations with Britain over its complicity in the unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian white supremacists in 1965 and opposed the sale of British arms to South Africa. The imperialists started to look for a replacement for Obote.

Since becoming chief of staff in 1966, Amin had built up a base of support within the army that posed a potential challenge to Obote's civilian regime. Israeli Col. Baruch Bar-Lev, who headed the Israeli mission in Uganda at the time, said in an interview in the July 16, 1976, issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Yediot Aharonot* that Amin had told him that Obote planned Amin's ouster. Bar-Lev said that he backed Amin against Obote, who was planning to expel the Israeli forces from Uganda. He advised Amin to station paratroop and tank brigades that were loyal to him in Kampala to thwart Obote's forces.

On January 25, 1971, General Amin seized power while Obote was out of the country. Amin relied on Israeli-trained troops and Israeli-supplied tanks to carry out the coup. During the takeover, Bar-Lev said, Amin called him to inform him that it was under way.

British newspapers greeted the coup with delight, and London became the first government in the world to recognize Amin's new military regime.

## Washington in the wings

Washington, too, had helped to strengthen Amin's position through its Israeli client-state.

According to a report by Edward A. Behr in the February 22, 1977, *Wall Street Journal*, the Central Intelligence Agency made covert payments to Israel to help finance the Israeli aid programs in Africa.

"In past years—including at least the period from 1964 to 1968, and perhaps beyond—the CIA has paid Israel a total estimated in the millions of dollars," Behr reported. "In the late 1960s, checks for several hundred thousand dollars each were frequently delivered by U.S. government officials to the Israeli foreign ministry in Jerusalem. The money was then to be channeled to the African recipients."

Behr noted that one of the countries that received such assistance during the 1960s was Uganda.

Besides funneling money through Israel, Washington also gave direct economic aid to the Ugandan regime. In the eleven years after Uganda's independence in 1962, the White House provided about \$45 million in aid, \$30 million of it in outright grants. This financing continued for more than two years after Amin seized power, ending only in 1973.

## Amin's reign of terror

Within days of the January 1971 coup, Amin initiated a policy of massive repression that has continued throughout his six years in power.

Parliament was abolished, all political parties and trade unions were banned, and almost all newspapers not controlled by the government were suppressed. But what characterized the Amin regime most was the institutionalization of political murder, both to eliminate all sources of real or potential opposition and to terrorize the population as a whole.

Immediately after the coup, extermination squads began to purge the military and civil administration of Acholis and Langis, who formed the major base of support for the Obote regime. Thousands were reportedly

killed by the end of 1971 alone. Refugees and foreign observers reported seeing scores of bodies floating down the Nile River or dumped in the forests. In some cases, entire villages were thought to have been wiped out.

The massacres were extended to nearly all of Uganda's various nationalities, including some from Amin's own Kakwa people. The victims came from all levels of Ugandan society. Most of them, however, were workers, peasants, and students.

Amin has set up a number of terror squads. The most important are the Public Safety Unit, the Bureau of State Research, the Presidential Bodyguard, and the Military Police. Their victims are commonly arrested in broad daylight or simply "disappear." According to Amnesty International, torture is almost routine in some police and army detention centers.

Because of the tight censorship and the elimination of all known dissidents, there are no precise estimates of the number of persons murdered under Amin. In 1975, the International Commission of Jurists estimated that anywhere from 25,000 to 250,000 Ugandans had disappeared or been killed. In early 1977, Amnesty International reported that the estimates ranged as high as 300,000. Thousands more are known to have fled into exile.

## Base of support

Most of Amin's base of support within the military is among troops from a few small nationalities from northern Uganda or from outside the country itself.

To ensure the continued support of this layer, Amin established a patronage system and continued a number of the policies first begun by Obote. In 1973 he expropriated and expelled the country's Asian population, many of whom were small-scale businessmen and traders, and handed much of their property over to his military supporters. The same year, he took over thirty-six British firms, turning them likewise over to military officers, as well as to other Ugandans. He broke ties with Israel in 1972.

Despite these limited actions against British and Israeli interests, Amin continued to receive support from some imperialist powers. Paris in particular became an important arms supplier. In 1974 alone it delivered fourteen Mirage jet fighters and other arms.

The Stalinist regime in Moscow, in the interest of its narrow diplomatic aims in East Africa, has also become a major source of weapons, including Mig jets, to the Amin dictatorship. Praising the Soviet arms deliveries, Amin said that they "improved the balance of power in Africa."

While London and Tel Aviv played a key role in creating the Amin regime, Amin has not proved to be the reliable bulwark of order that they had counted on. Moreover, the massive military expenditures and the constant repression have greatly disrupted Uganda's economy. Foreign sales of coffee, cotton, and copper—all major export items—as well as industrial production, have declined appreciably.

The imperialists also realize that Amin's regime is quite unstable. There have been a number of coup attempts against him already. And in March 1976 hundreds of students defied the regime by staging a protest march through Kampala. Antigovernment pamphlets raising economic demands and calling for Amin's overthrow have also been circulated.

The flood of denunciations of Amin from London, Washington, and Tel Aviv serve notice that the imperialists are considering replacing him with a regime that is better able to protect their interests. If the imperialists are successful in this move, it would represent no fundamental gain for the Ugandan masses and would simply reaffirm imperialist domination over the country.

The Ugandan peoples alone have the right to determine what kind of regime they want, not the imperialists who placed Amin in power in the first place.



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MARCH 18, 1977

## Mounties maintain secret files

# Canadian political police admit spying on socialists

[The following article appeared in the February 14 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

MONTREAL—Federal Solicitor General Francis Fox has intervened personally to block the Québec Human Rights Commission from examining RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] dossiers that the police say were used to fire socialists from their jobs with the Olympic Games last summer.

In a signed affidavit filed in Ottawa, Fox claims that the production of any RCMP dossiers, or disclosure of their contents, would jeopardize "current and ongoing investigations being carried out by the Security Service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. . . ."

Fox's affidavit protests that disclosure of these files would reveal "sources of information, methods of collecting information, the personnel involved in these investigations, as well as the extent and scope of these investigations. . . ."

Such files, the affidavit says, "have been compiled and are kept in the strictest secrecy within the framework of current and ongoing investigations in all regions of Canada." They concern "questions of extreme importance for national security."

As solicitor general, Francis Fox is the minister in the Trudeau cabinet responsible for the RCMP. Why has he taken this action? And what does it mean for the democratic rights of thousands, perhaps millions, of Québécois—of all Canadians, in fact?

The Québec Human Rights Commission (Commission des Droits de la Personne) is currently investigating complaints by two persons, Katie Curtin and Sylvie Roche, who say they were unjustly fired by the security division of the Olympic Games Organizing Committee (COJO) on the basis of their political views.

Their cases were taken to the commission by the Human Rights League (Ligue des Droits de l'Homme), which is defending a number of persons who likewise allege political discrimination by COJO.

At hearings in November, the commission cross-examined members of the RCMP, the Québec provincial police, and the Montréal municipal police who had participated in the security committee set up by the Olympic organizers to screen job applicants.

The cops' testimony pointed to the existence of an elaborate network of police spying and harassment directed against political dissidents.

- The police confirmed that Curtin and Roche were fired for political reasons. Lieut. Leonce Noel of the Montréal police said that their names were on a list of persons who were considered to be security risks, and that this information was transmitted to COJO officials.

This refutes the claim of a COJO official last summer that "there was never any question of security involved" in the firing of socialists by COJO.

- Curtin and Roche were not the only persons fired for their views. The cops say "about twenty" COJO job appli-



Georgian: Philippe Rachiele

Katie Curtin confronts Solicitor General Francis Fox in Montréal. 'Why do you brand me a risk to national security?'

cants were fired or refused employment on the basis of RCMP "intelligence" data.

According to police figures, up to 136 others lost their jobs or were refused employment because there were criminal files on them.

How many of those got their criminal records from political involvement—for example, from arrests during the War Measures crisis, or for participating in union picket lines or in nationalist demonstrations?

- The police procedures were completely arbitrary. Although the Québec and Montréal police forces were involved in the screening procedures, by common agreement the RCMP alone determined whether a COJO applicant was to be given a "security" clearance.

The RCMP's decision was final. The applicant was given no formal notification of why he or she had been turned down. There were no procedures for appeal. When the RCMP recommendation was negative, COJO could ask for a "review"—but that simply sent the file back to the RCMP through the same channels.

According to police, a total of 131,000 applications for employment with the Olympics or Olympic-related concessions and services were processed through the RCMP's central information bank in Ottawa.

The key role of the RCMP was outlined to the commission by Corp. Gerard Lafond, who is in charge of the Québec provincial police files. Lafond said he has 300,000 dossiers in Québec City.

But the screening committee did not

need to use these files, he said. Through a standing agreement with the Québec police, the RCMP has all the information in those files, and more. The files, he acknowledged, include information on persons who have not been convicted of any offense.

- One of the most ominous aspects of this testimony is the police description of what to them constitutes a "security risk."

By the Olympic screening committee's vague criteria a "security risk" could be anyone who was suspected of supporting an organization the cops deem to be "capable of acts of violence."

As if that arbitrary definition was not dangerous enough, section 3 of the criteria clearly stated that any "reasonable doubt" about an applicant's status was sufficient to bar him or her from employment.

In short, anyone just suspected of holding dissident political views could come within the purview of the cops' arbitrary definition: "risk to national security."

For decades, the U.S. attorney-general published a blacklist of hundreds of organizations declared to be "subversive." The list was used to hound thousands of Americans from their jobs. Ottawa appears to have its own blacklist; but it doesn't dare publish it.

Testifying before the Québec Human Rights Commission in the Curtin case, Insp. Claude Vermette, an RCMP intelligence officer, confirmed that among the organizations under constant scrutiny by Canada's political police are the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue

des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists), of which Curtin is a member.

The LSO and LJS are legal organizations. They contest elections. They do not advocate or practice illegal acts. What legal authority have the police to keep files on members of the LSA and the LJS? And what are the "sources of information," the "methods of collecting information," that Fox is afraid to disclose to the Québec commission?

Is the RCMP guilty of burglaries, the use of informers, and other illegal activities similar to those revealed to be the common practice of its U.S. counterpart, the FBI?

The police testimony in the Curtin case indicates that data in the RCMP files, far from being kept in the "strictest secrecy," as Fox claims in his affidavit, are in fact being given to employers, with the inevitable result.

The blacklist is secret. The information is secret. The charges are secret. What recourse can the victims have against these government-inspired witch-hunt methods? How can they clear their names without having access to their police files?

Yet that is just what Fox hopes to prevent. To avoid answering for the RCMP actions, he invokes "national security"—the same discredited plea Nixon used to justify withholding the Watergate tapes!

The Human Rights Commission is expected to challenge Fox's affidavit in the courts. If it does, more light may be shed on the threat to democratic rights posed by secret police operations in this country.

## Interview with Philip Agee

# 'Why Britain's political police want to deport me'

[The following interview with Philip Agee was obtained in London by Anita Bennett in late January and early February.]

*Question. Could you discuss the allegations of the government in its deportation proceedings against you, and how this relates to the question of free speech?*

*Answer.* The main allegation is that I am a threat to Britain's national security. Of course, national security considerations in this country have the advantage of being a kind of mysticism, like they used to have in the United States before Vietnam and Watergate. There is a certain reaction when the words "national security" are invoked here, which allows for secrecy instead of bringing the facts out into the open.

The home secretary has persistently refused to give details of the allegations against me. He won't even give us the time framework. Nor will he give the nationality of the "foreign intelligence officers" I have allegedly been in contact with. His stonewalling with the magic words "national security" is very reminiscent of Nixon.

Now national security and the secrecy involved, as the American experience has shown, is more often than not a tool used to conceal activities from the people, who would debate the rights and wrongs of those activities. There are a number of examples put forward by the witnesses who testified on my behalf. Morton Halperin [former aide to Kissinger who came to London to testify on February 2], for example, pointed out that surely the Cambodians knew they were being bombed. But the Johnson administration didn't want the American public or Congress to debate the issue.

*Q. Why do you think the British government is trying to deport you now instead of earlier?*

A. That's a question I've asked myself. I think the timing comes as a result of my trip to Jamaica in September. I was invited by the Council for Human Rights in Jamaica, and I spoke at a number of public meetings there. I had interviews with the press and with radio people. I also spoke privately with certain people in the government and in political parties there. The purpose of the trip was to analyze events of the past year in Jamaica and determine if there might be a pattern which would suggest a coordinated American program through the CIA to destabilize the Manley government.

I had no idea before I went of what was happening there. But there was something going on along the lines of Chile during the Allende period, like Guyana when Cheddy Jagan was prime minister, and in other countries where I worked.

At the end of my trip, I gave to the press the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all the CIA people there that I could identify. I think there were eight or nine that I came up with. That was in September. Rees [Britain's home secretary] made his decision just a few weeks afterwards.

I think the American government had been exerting considerable pressure for a long time. Even before I arrived in Britain, there was a lot of pressure to prevent me from coming and from doing



PHILIP AGEE

research on my book. But I think that the timing had something to do with the Jamaica trip.

The main reasons for the attempt to deport me is to disrupt my work, to disrupt the writing of my second book.

*Q. Do you think there was any connection between the government's effort to deport you and British policy in Northern Ireland?*

A. There have been many rumors. There is a rumor that I have been involved in Irish matters related to the IRA. There was another rumor that I was about to publish a list of officers in "safe houses" where British intelligence agents were met. There is another rumor that I put lives in jeopardy. Many of these rumors emanate from very high places in the British government, including the prime minister's office itself. They simply confuse matters and create sinister overtones, so that there will be less public opposition and people will just say this is such a weird and strange case that there is nothing we can do about it.

*Q. Could you explain the legal procedures involved with the 1971 Immigration Act?*

A. This is a new immigration act, passed as a result of the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke. Under the old immigration act Dutschke was able to defend himself. He was able to appeal to an immigration appeals tribunal.<sup>1</sup> But in 1971 they took away the right of appeal for political and so-called national security cases. So I have no appeal against the deportation at all.

At that time there were a number of members of Parliament, like Michael Foot and James Callaghan, who voiced their fears that this procedure would not allow for a fair hearing. So the home secretary instituted a procedure whereby he would appoint a panel of three "wise men" who would then hear any representations that the person concerned might want to make.

It was not an appeal; it was what they call "making representation," where you try to explain to them your innocence. I have had to try and prove that I am innocent of these vague allegations, while at the same time not even knowing if anything I said to this panel was relevant.

1. The German socialist student leader was ordered deported January 8, 1971, after his appeal was rejected by the tribunal.—IP

## Facts on deportation case

Philip Agee is an American journalist who has lived and worked in Britain for years. An ex-CIA agent, he has written a book on the CIA and is working on another book. Agee and another American journalist, Mark Hosenball, were notified November 16 that they were going to be deported on "national security" grounds.

Under the 1971 Immigration Act the government can order a person born outside the British isles deported by simply declaring them a security risk. The victims can "appeal" to a three-member advisory panel appointed by the same home secretary issuing the deportation order. But the government reserves the right to keep secret its "evidence" on alleged security violations, which it did in this case.

Testimony on Agee's behalf was presented to the three-member panel February 2 by such prominent figures as Ramsey Clark, Morton Halperin, and Melvin Wulf. On February 16, the government announced that the appeals were rejected.

The next day it was revealed that Agee had gone to Scotland, where, according to an Associated Press

dispatch in the February 18 *New York Times*, he plans to mount a legal challenge based on special provisions of Scottish law. Hosenball announced in London that he would appeal to the High Court.

Agee's lawyers will ask the Court of Sessions in Edinburgh to rule that the deportation order is invalid there because it has not been signed by the secretary of state for Scotland.

In a related development, British police have arrested three Britons and charged them with breaches of the 1911 Official Secrets Act.

Duncan Campbell and John Nicholas Crispin Aubrey were charged with receiving without authorization classified information. John Berry was accused of communicating classified information to unauthorized persons.

Campbell and Aubrey both work as correspondents for *Time Out* magazine and were active in fighting against the deportation of Hosenball and Agee. Campbell had coauthored with Hosenball the article in *Time Out* exposing British and U.S. security forces' monitoring of telecommunications.

*Q. Were there no questions from the panel?*

A. There were some questions—on Jamaica, on Angola, on my second book, and on the possibility of my stepping into joint operations without knowing that the British had any participation. But under the 1971 Immigration Act, the only thing that can be appealed is the country of destination. If the deportation order goes through, then I will be told to go to a certain country. Since I am an American citizen, it will be the United States. I will have fourteen days to appeal. I don't want to go back to the U.S. because there are other things that I want to do which would be interrupted still more if I went back.

*Q. What is the problem about returning to the United States?*

A. I would probably be served with an injunction. I might be prosecuted, tied up in court. For two months now I have seen what it is like to do nothing but defend yourself against the state. It's not something I am interested in doing for a year or two in the United States. So I will appeal and go to some other country that will accept me.

*Q. Can you describe the kind of support you have received?*

A. Here a defense committee sprang up overnight when the crisis erupted. They have been working continually ever since—collecting money, organizing public meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches, visits to MPs, motions to the House of Commons. Much work has been done within the British trade-union movement, which has brought a really significant degree of support. For



Is CIA behind Britain's attempt to deport Philip Agee?



# World news notes

example, the Trades Union Congress General Council has passed a motion against my deportation.

*Q. What about the work in the United States?*

A. Less has been done. I haven't been living there and people don't really know me. There has been an attempt to collect money. The American Civil Liberties Union has been defending me for a long time, not just in relation to the deportation. One of the Americans who came as a witness is Melvin Wulf, my lawyer and former director of the ACLU. I have received letters, petitions, contributions.

*Q. What about other countries?*

A. We've received letters from Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, France, Italy. I haven't been able to keep up with all the support coming in.

*Q. Do you think the election of Carter will bring a change in the attitude of the U.S. government?*

A. I don't think the U.S. government's attitude will change at all, because the CIA has been in operation for thirty years. It has done more or less the same thing over all those years. Because of the recent investigations, they have cut down their activities in the United States. They are probably not doing so many illegal things in the United States now as before. But of course they can violate the laws of countries outside the U.S. with impunity. They can, for example, harass or violate the rights of American citizens abroad. I think that the American rulers have as much need today for the CIA's type of subversive operations as ever. They are spending billions of dollars, even today, on covert action operations.

*Q. In a recent pamphlet you mentioned the role of the KGB and the American government's view of the three liberation movements in Angola. There is often an attempt to condemn groups immediately simply on the basis of their receiving funds from the CIA, for example the desire to politically define a movement by the source of its finances. Could you say something about this tendency?*

A. I think it is very dangerous to reject out of hand any organization that

might get money from the CIA. The CIA has different reasons for giving money and it is not always because they want to promote a reactionary organization. As Colby said in the Angolan case, they were backing UNITA and FNLA because the Soviets were backing the MPLA.<sup>2</sup> There it was a question of trying to oppose Soviet influence, not just to oppose but to make sure that the USSR-backed side didn't win. The CIA got in and started funding the other two groups, which upset the balance. You remember that on independence day, November 11, 1975, the MPLA had been reduced to just a small enclave around Luanda and Cabinda. It was then that the Cubans and Soviets intervened.

*Q. As a sponsor of PRDF<sup>3</sup> what is your opinion of the Socialist Workers party suit?*

A. I think that suit is probably one of the most important political developments for left parties for a long time in the United States, possibly ever. Because what's coming out of that is the general public appreciation for the fact that the principles of democracy in the United States are not being applied and have not been for over thirty years. They are not being applied equally to all political groups. So I think it's a tremendously positive thing. I hope that it continues and that more and better documents come out. And that they get their \$40 million. I think they should get a lot more than that.

*Q. Melvin Wulf called your case the most important free speech issue in Western Europe right now.*

A. I think this is true. I don't know of another case which is quite so critical for the principles that are being trampled on in the name of national security, which is used to cover up so much.

2. UNITA—União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola); FNLA—Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front); MPLA—Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).—IP

3. PRDF—Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that is publicizing and raising funds for the lawsuit against the U.S. government and its spy agencies brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.—IP

## British paper on SWP suit

[The following article appeared in the January 19 issue of *Morning Star*, the daily newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist party of Great Britain.]

The Socialist Workers Party of the US, a Trotskyist organisation associated with the Fourth International, has just released copies of a massive wedge of CIA documents which have been turned over to it in the course of its long-running law suit against the CIA, the FBI and other government bodies.

The SWP is claiming about £20 million [US \$40 million—IP] damages for systematic harassment by police which, it says, has taken the form of everything from persecution of election candidates to burglaries, to wire-tapping to bomb attacks on party offices.

Of special interest in Britain, especially at the time of the Agee-Hosenball hearings, is an affidavit

signed on July 1, 1976, by CIA director George Bush, who says:

"The files of the CIA do contain information indicating that conversations of certain of the individual plaintiffs . . . were overheard by means of electronic surveillance conducted abroad; and that certain other information . . . was acquired as a result of several surreptitious entries that were made into premises abroad. . . ."

A further deposition made by Paul F. Haefner, another CIA official, not only says that the CIA was asked for information about the SWP by "a foreign intelligence service," but that:

"The senior CIA officer in any country abroad is always obligated to use his best judgment as to whether specific operational actions or methods can be initiated and carried out securely, without adverse problems for either the host country or the United States government and consistent with the authority given to the CIA by law."

## Egypt assembly expels critic

The Egyptian National Assembly voted 281 to 28 on February 14 to expel Kamal Eddin Hussein, former vice-president of Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, for "aggression on the constitution and the president at a time of crisis and sedition."

Hussein was punished after he criticized President Anwar el-Sadat for blaming recent mass protests in Egypt on "Communists." He had told Sadat in an open letter that the protests were the result of "your government's shortsightedness and the foolish policy of former governments."

Hussein had also exposed in advance Sadat's claim that 99.4 percent of Egyptian voters approved decrees ordering life imprisonment for strikes or "inciting people to impede" the regime. He said the vote would be faked by the government "as it faked the results of all previous referendums."

Even with his "99.4 percent" support, Sadat apparently does not feel strong enough yet to enforce his decrees. On February 12, 400 students from Cairo University marched to protest the new laws. The demonstration lasted three hours, and police made no attempt to stop it.

## Spanish LCR seeks recognition as legal party

The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported February 15 that a delegation from the organizing committee set up to obtain recognition for the LCR [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Communist League], a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, went to the General Security Administration headquarters at Puerta del Sol square, to file the statutes and political statements of the LCR, in order to obtain recognition.

The organizing committee, which has sixteen members, is representative of the different nationalities and social layers among which the LCR works.

The government has ten days to make a decision on these requests. After that time, or in case the request is denied, the Supreme Tribunal has to settle the matter.

## British CP'er backs Charter 77

Monty Johnstone, a leader of the British Communist party, is among the signers of an appeal issued in January by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The appeal was also signed by Tamara Deutscher, more than seventy Labour party members of Parliament, and scores of prominent figures in the labor and socialist movement. Below are excerpts from the appeal.

With great courage, 257 Czechoslovak citizens launched the manifesto "Charter 77" on the 1st of January this year. This Charter states the plain truth that democratic rights in Czechoslovakia exist only on paper, even though Czechoslovakia has ratified the Helsinki Declaration and the United Nations Convention on Human Rights.

The grotesque situation in Czechoslovakia is a permanent reproach to socialists throughout Europe. It is impossible to defend the repressive actions of the present Czechoslovak Government, which are aimed against the hopes of the Czechoslovak people, but which also constitute an attack upon the socialist ideal as it is understood throughout all Europe.

We, the undersigned, declare our support for Charter 77, and our solidarity with its authors and signatories.

## Portuguese SP dissidents condemn expulsions

The National Coordinating Committee of Socialist Labor Commissions, a body ordered dissolved by the Soares leadership, held a conference February 6. Three days later, representatives of the banned committee—José Luís Mendes, Joaquim Pagarete, Maria da Paz Lima, and Henriques da Costa—met with the press.

The leaders of the Coordinating Committee, whom the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* described as "persons considered to be Trotskyist infiltrators in the SP," told reporters that they still have the support of the majority of the SP factory organizations.

The conference pledged to fight "for the defense of the program of the SP, for the defense of the interests of the workers, and the gains of the Portuguese revolution on the road to socialism, for restoring the unity of the party on the basis of defending the interests of the workers and the program of the SP. This unity is gravely threatened by the policy of the leadership, which contradicts the inspiration, the program, and the tradition of the Socialist party."

## Hit censorship in Brazil

A petition circulating in Brazil demands that the military regime revoke its censorship laws and warns that otherwise "Brazil will soon be turned into a country that doesn't have much to say."

More than a thousand artists, writers, and other intellectuals have signed the petition. Among these are the well-known novelist Jorge Amado and Antonio Callado and composer Antonio Carlos Jobim and Chico Buarque de Holanda.

Reflecting increasing concern among Brazilian capitalists about this pressure for democratic rights, Jose Papa, Jr., head of the São Paulo Federation of Commerce, issued a statement recently saying "the country must begin a move toward full democratic government."

But the Geisel dictatorship shows no sign of giving in. Justice Minister Armando Falcão responded to the censorship petition by pointing out that only 74 books, 292 song lyrics, 6 movies, and 29 plays were banned in 1976.

Playwright Ias Vomes retorted: "He says he banned only 29 plays. Well, that's approximately the number of plays Shakespeare wrote."

## Will South Africa be the next nuclear power?

By Ernest Harsch

Confronted with a rising Black freedom struggle throughout southern Africa, the South African regime has begun to drop the mantle of secrecy surrounding its program to develop its own arsenal of nuclear weapons.

Although Pretoria has so far refused to officially confirm reports that it has or is close to having its own atomic bomb, Interior and Information Minister Connie Mulder has hinted as much.

According to a report by Jim Hoagland in the February 16 *Washington Post*, he answered a question about South Africa's nuclear arms capability by stating, "Let me just say that if we are attacked, no rules apply at all if it comes to a question of our existence. We will use all means at our disposal, whatever they may be. It is true that we have just completed our own [nuclear enrichment] pilot plant that uses very advanced technology, and that we have major uranium resources."

Hoagland cited a "well-informed American government source" as estimating that Pretoria could manufacture its own atomic bomb within two to four years at the most. If the Vorster regime embarked on a crash program, the source added, it might be able to cut the time to a matter of months.

"At least one British expert feels that the South Africans may have already produced an atomic weapon," Hoagland reported.

A day after Hoagland's article appeared, French Prime Minister Raymond Barre publicly confirmed that Pretoria "already has a nuclear military capability."

While nuclear weapons would be of little use to Pretoria in suppressing mass Black protests and strikes within the country, they could give it greater diplomatic leverage abroad. They could

also be used to threaten Black regimes that provide aid to the South African liberation organizations.

In the mid-1960s, Andries Visser, a member of the South African Atomic Energy Board, warned that "we should have such a bomb to prevent aggression from loud mouthed Afro-Asiatic states. . . ."

Without the aid of its imperialist allies, Pretoria would not now be capable of building its own nuclear arms. Washington, Bonn, and Paris in particular have played crucial roles every step of the way in the development of the South African nuclear industry.

During a speech in Johannesburg in October 1976, A.J.A. Roux, the president of the South African Atomic Energy Board, paid open tribute to American assistance in the nuclear field. "We can," he said, "ascribe our degree of advancement today in large measure to the training and assistance so willingly provided by the United States of America during the early years of our nuclear program when several of the Western world's nuclear nations cooperated in initiating our scientists and engineers into nuclear science."

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) opened its facilities to South African nuclear scientists and engineers shortly after the formation of the South African Atomic Energy Board in 1949. During the Cold War, Washington used South African uranium in building its own nuclear arsenal. In 1957, Washington and Pretoria signed a fifty-year bilateral nuclear energy cooperation agreement.

The AEC trained South African technicians at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee and provided Thomas Cole, a nuclear consultant, to the South African Atomic Energy Board. Roux noted that Pretoria's research reactor at Pelindaba "is of



American design" and that "much of the nuclear equipment installed at Pelindaba is of American origin, while even our nuclear philosophy, although unmistakably our own, owes much to the thinking of [American] nuclear scientists."

In 1975 and 1976, American weapons-grade enriched uranium was sold to South Africa, ostensibly for use in the Pelindaba reactor.

The next step in Pretoria's nuclear program was the construction of its own nuclear enrichment plant. Although the enrichment of raw uranium is extremely complex and expensive and its technology is usually kept a closely guarded secret by the major nuclear powers, Vorster announced in 1970 that Pretoria had developed its "own" enrichment process. A pilot enrichment plant went

into operation in April 1975 at Valindaba and a full-scale commercial plant is slated for completion by the early 1980s.

In 1971, Roux pointed out that "if a country wishes to make nuclear weapons, an enrichment plant will provide the concentrated fission material if the country possesses the necessary natural uranium to process in the plant."

According to American sources cited by Hoagland, the Valindaba plant, which can enrich uranium to weapons-grade level, can provide Pretoria with at least twenty to forty pounds of plutonium—enough to manufacture a nuclear bomb—by 1981.

Pretoria received valuable aid in perfecting its enrichment process from West Germany. It is believed that the enrichment plant is based on a West German method developed by Erwin Becker, who has admitted that Roux and other South African scientists had access to his research. Moreover, in April 1974 the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of South Africa and the West German government-controlled Steinkohlen Elektrizität signed a contract "to carry out a joint feasibility study of two uranium enrichment processes."

When it came to South Africa's first commercial nuclear reactors, Pretoria turned to the French. In May 1976 it awarded a \$1.1 billion contract to a consortium of three French companies to build two 950 megawatt reactors for its Koeberg nuclear plant at Melkbosstrand, north of Cape Town.

Both the Nixon and Ford administrations, as well as the American embassy in Pretoria, had lobbied strongly to secure the contract for General Electric. Although General Electric lost out to its competitors, American interests are still involved in the deal. Westinghouse owns 15 percent of Framatome, one of the three French companies in the consortium.

In addition, according to Hoagland, there is "a quietly arranged American commitment to supply enriched nuclear fuel between 1981 and 1984" for the Koeberg reactor. This same enriched nuclear fuel could also be used in the production of nuclear weapons.

## State of emergency lapses in Sri Lanka

The state of emergency in Sri Lanka, under which the regime of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has ruled for nearly six years, lapsed February 16. By law, the president must proclaim a renewal of the emergency each month and announce it in Parliament. Since Bandaranaike recessed Parliament until mid-May, this was not done.

The state of emergency was first declared in March 1971 as the regime began a massive crackdown against young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). The repression prompted the JVP to attempt an uprising the following month, which was crushed by the Bandaranaike regime

only after thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 arrested. Bandaranaike was aided in her butchery by the pro-Moscow Communist party and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party), both of which were members of her coalition government at the time.\*

According to a February 16 dispatch to the *New York Times*, the lapsing of the state of emergency means that the JVP, which was outlawed in 1971, can now function legally. However, JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and about 2,000 JVP members and supporters still remain in Bandaranaike's jails. The *Times* reported that Wijeweera, who is serving a twenty-year sentence, announced a meeting of the JVP and said the JVP planned to run candidates in the elections, which are expected to be called in May.

Five days before the lapsing of the state of emergency, Mahinda Wijesekera, a former leader of the JVP who has served a term in prison on charges of participating in the 1971 uprising, announced the formation of a new party. The party, to be called the Mahajana Vimukthi Pakshaya (MVP—People's Liberation party), also plans to field candidates in the elections.

Wijesekera, who was chosen as gener-

\* The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for taking posts in Bandaranaike's capitalist government. Its leaders were dropped from her cabinet in 1975. The Communist party still remains in the government.

al secretary of the MVP, explained the party's program February 11. According to the February 12 *Ceylon Daily News*, "Wijesekera said the MVP is an independent but a revolutionary party of the oppressed class committed to Marxism-Leninism. A revolutionary party is necessary to establish a socialist regime in place of a capitalist one. But that change cannot be made without a correct leadership. . . ."

"The MVP will expose and eliminate the distorted version of Marxism-



SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE

Leninism so profoundly resorted to by Russia and China, he added."

Wijesekera explained that the MVP was not a revival of the JVP, which was still illegal when the new party was formed. He said that the MVP would correct the errors that the JVP had committed during the April 1971 uprising.

The *News* quoted him as saying, "Nobody could deny that the April uprising is the greatest struggle in the history of Sri Lanka. But there were mistakes made by us as well as the government, spearheaded by the SLFP [Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom party], the LSSP and CP. But that struggle cannot and should not be forgotten. We must learn lessons from that struggle even at the cost of so many lives—and also we must learn lessons from Allende in Chile, the revolutions of Cuba and the Soviet Union or the abortive revolution of Che Guevara in Bolivia."

Wijesekera also explained the MVP's decision to participate in the elections. According to the *News*, "the MVP will make maximum use of the freedoms permitted under the present democratic state machinery to consolidate the Party although it opposed the limited liberties available under the present capitalist system of government. The MVP did not believe Parliament was a medium through which a socialist state could be created but will utilize that as a political platform to further the policies of the Party."



# Protests hit shah of Iran's reign of terror

## Philadelphia

By George Ali

PHILADELPHIA—"Torture is a calamity which will never leave Iranian prisoners. . . . This is the darkest period of Iranian history."

Dr. Reza Baraheni shared this portion of a recent letter from an intellectual in Iran with more than 100 people at the University of Pennsylvania February 17.

Baraheni was speaking at a panel on Political Repression in Iran. The panel was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Cosponsoring were eleven other organizations including Amnesty International (Philadelphia), the National Black Feminist Organization, and the Iranian Student Society.

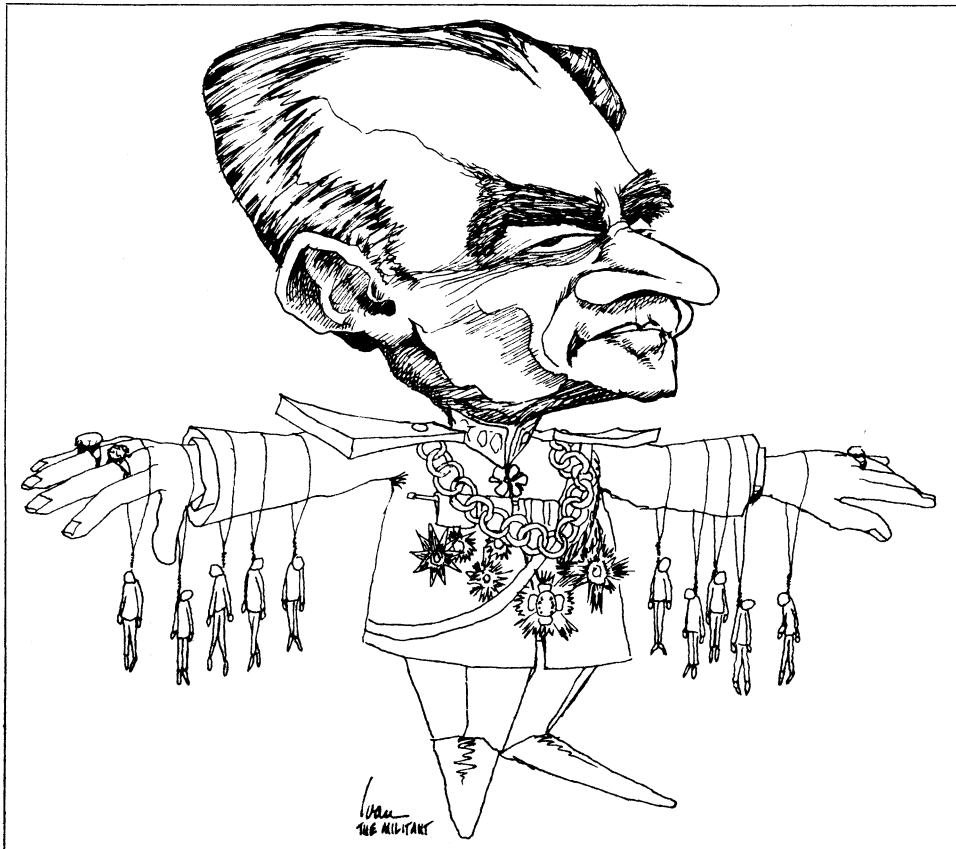
Baraheni, a noted Iranian poet, spent 102 days in the shah's infamous Komité prison in 1973. He is CAIFI's honorary national chairperson.

Baraheni told his audience that "since the creation of SAVAK [the Iranian secret police] in 1957, 300,000 Iranians have been systematically incarcerated, tortured, interrogated under torture, and, in some cases, killed. One hundred twenty-six people were shot to death in the streets, or while 'trying to escape' in 1976."

The shah also deals harshly, Baraheni explained, with oppressed nationalities in Iran. These include the Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Baluchis.

The languages and cultures of these peoples—who collectively make up 60 percent of the Iranian population—are banned by the regime.

"You don't have to go to South Africa to find out what second-class



citizenship means," Baraheni said. "it is the shah's policy toward the majority of people."

Baraheni blasted the U.S. government for its support to the shah. He charged that there are "31,000 Americans now in Iran—training the Iranian army, training the SAVAK, building bases—as compared with the 25,000 in Vietnam in 1965."

Baraheni also attacked the Middle East centers of American universities for their refusal to expose the shah's barbaric regime.

Most of the people have up to now shut up," he declared. "They haven't said anything about this brutality which 34 million people have suffered."

"And, of course, on the basis of that suffering, most of these Middle East scholars have been dined and wined, have gone on trips, have been paid money, have been bribed so that they will stay silent."

"And that includes almost all the major institutions of culture in this country. . . . It is a shame, a shame, that all its academic institutions could sell out to a crowned cannibal."

Other speakers on the panel were Prof. Dennis Brunn of the Bryn Mawr School of Social Work; Clare Fraenzl, vice-president of liaison, Philadelphia chapter, National Organization for Women; Prof. Sonia Sánchez of the University of Pennsylvania's English

and Afro-American studies departments; and Prof. Norman Glickman of Penn's department of city and regional planning.

In his talk, Glickman called for protests against a new contract between the University of Pennsylvania and Farabi University in Iran.

## New York

By Charles Cairns

NEW YORK—Students and teachers at Queens College of the City University of New York are struggling to prevent their school from becoming an outpost of SAVAK, the shah of Iran's dreaded secret police.

The object of their protests is an April 2, 1976, Program of Cooperation signed by Robert Kibbee, the chancellor of the City University of New York (CUNY), and Abbas Safavian, chancellor of the National University of Iran (NUI).

The full terms of the Program of Cooperation had been secret until protests and a threatened lawsuit forced the college to make them known in January.

Under the agreement, Queens College will establish a "clearinghouse and an information center" for NUI. The center will maintain a list of all

Iranian graduate students in the United States.

The official purpose of this list is to help NUI select students to work for it. However, such a list would also aid SAVAK in spying on Iranian students.

A list of Iranian graduate students containing data regarding their potential employment by NUI would be likely to include such information as

**PROTEST MEETING AGAINST QUEENS COLLEGE COMPLICITY WITH THE SHAH.** Thursday, March 17, 1-3 p.m. Fourth floor Ballroom, Student Union, Queens College. Speakers include Reza Baraheni and Eric Bentley. Sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee, others. For more information call 520-7677.

which professors they studied with, their general behavior, and other information that SAVAK would find very valuable.

Even one of the signers of the agreement—former Queens College President Joseph Murphy—recently admitted that SAVAK would find the center useful.

The shah has already made a down payment of \$100,000 on the joint program. Iran is to put up another \$100,000 whenever the initial funds drop to \$20,000.

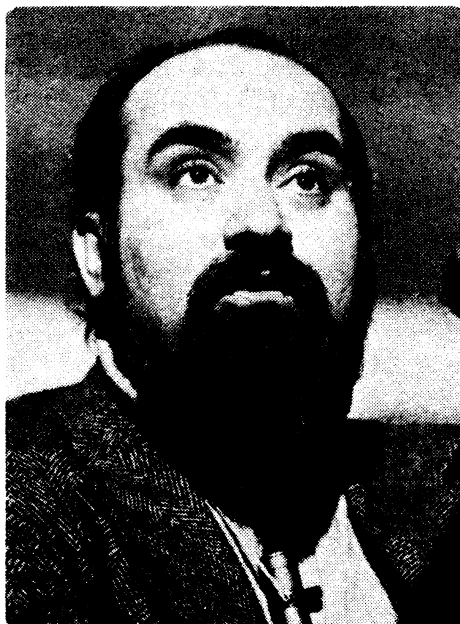
But the Queens College Ad Hoc Committee to Abolish the Program of Cooperation Between NUI and CUNY is saying that their school should not sell out the struggle for human rights in Iran at any price.

Thirty-three faculty members—including one-third of all the departmental chairpersons—have signed a letter of protest to a school paper, the *Phoenix Newsbeat*, another campus paper, has called for scrapping the program. The Student Association also backs this demand.

Members of the school linguistics department persuaded the convention of the Linguistic Society of America to pass a resolution condemning the acceptance of any funds from official Iranian sources.

A faculty exposé of Queens College's "Tehran Connection" prompted articles in the New York weekly, the *Village Voice* and the *New York Post*.

The Ad Hoc Committee is asking that letters demanding an end to the NUI affiliation at Queens be sent to Nathaniel Siegel, the college president, at Queens College, Flushing, New York 11367. The committee asks that copies be sent to them care of Marcia Felner, Student Association, Student Union, Queens College, Flushing, New York 11367.



REZA BARAHENI

Militant/Lou Howort

## Zionist 'doves' attacked by JDL

By Marc Strumpf

WASHINGTON—On February 20, members of the ultraright Jewish Defense League (JDL) physically attacked a conference held by Breira, a "dovish" Zionist organization whose name in English means "alternative."

Seven hundred dollars' worth of damage was done to the National Four-H center in Chevy Chase, Maryland. JDL thugs stormed the auditorium doors and overturned literature tables. Fortunately, nobody was seriously injured in the assault.

The JDL justified the attack by calling Breira a "group of self-hating Jews bent on the destruction of Israel." In truth, Breira is pro-Israeli. It merely advocates recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) by the Israeli regime in return for Palestinian recognition of the legitimacy of the Israeli state.

Although the JDL is often an embarrassment to the Israeli government, it

is only extending the logic used by the Zionist movement as a whole. Intimidation and terrorism have always been used in trying to silence the Palestinian people and their supporters. It was only a matter of time until the same methods were used against dissidents within the Jewish population.

While differing for the moment on what tactics should be used, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) agrees with the JDL on the necessity of preventing debate on the issue of Palestine and on silencing the voices that challenge the oppression of the Palestinian people.

One week before the JDL attack, the ZOA staged a picket line and rally of several hundred to protest a meeting of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) on the Middle East. The AFSC, a Quaker group whose approach to the Middle East is similar to that of Breira, had invited PLO representative Sabri Jiryis to speak at a

symposium along with former Israeli Gen. Matityahu Peled.

Jiryis was denied a visa to enter the United States by the Carter administration, but the ZOA protested the invitation anyway. When questioned by the *Militant*, ZOA public affairs director Jack Serber insisted that the PLO had no right to a say in the Middle East because "the PLO is not directly concerned with the issues." When asked who could possibly be more concerned than the Palestinians, Serber had no reply.

These incidents follow a month-long red-baiting campaign by the right-wing *Jewish Week*, the Washington-area English-language Jewish newspaper. An article in the February 3-9 issue titled "The PLO Lobby" accused a number of pacifist and liberal organizations of being front groups for either the Communist party or the Socialist Workers party.

# PR's top cop sacked; involved in frame-ups

By José G. Pérez

Luis Maldonado Trinidad, Puerto Rico's newly appointed police chief, resigned at the end of February. His resignation followed disclosures that he had been involved in fabricating bombing charges against supporters of independence.

The scandal broke January 28, when *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, reported that PSP leader Carlos Gallisá would reveal secret documents at Maldonado Trinidad's Senate confirmation hearings.

When the formal hearings were held up by Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló, *Claridad* and the *San Juan Star* published detailed accusations against Maldonado Trinidad, based on documents from a 1969 internal police investigation and other official sources.

One set of documents, first published in the February 3-10 *Claridad*, showed that Maldonado Trinidad played a central role in March 1968 in the attempted frame-up of independence activist Miguel Hernández Mathews. At the time, the activist was suing the police to stop spying and harassment against him. He eventually won the case.

Records show that agents of the Criminal Investigations Body, at the time headed by Maldonado Trinidad, raided Hernández Mathews's home and "found" a bomb.

The agents took the bomb to police headquarters and handed it to chemist Alberto Vázquez Lugo. When the chemist saw the bomb, he cried out, "What are you doing with that experimental bomb that I prepared for Lieutenant Feliciano" of the Intelligence Division.

Criminal Investigations agent Enrique Pérez Ginorio reported the incident to his boss, Cdr. Maldonado Trinidad. Pérez Ginorio says the commander "gave me instructions to not proceed with the investigation, to close the case."

Maldonado Trinidad ordered the cop to say that there was no bomb and to not record the origin of the bomb.

Political associates of Hernández Mathews were then indicted on various charges. But a judge dismissed the charges saying the "evidence was tainted."

Maldonado Trinidad responded to these revelations by saying they are "a wave of defamations by terrorists supported by other people, including police."

He said he was a victim of "persons who attack the security of Puerto Rico and of the Marxist-Leninist movements." He said he would not resign unless forced to do so by Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló.

At first, Romero Barceló stood by his appointee, but more revelations and accusations made that position untenable.

Police officials had removed the records on the attempted frame-up from departmental files and destroyed them. But in October 1968, some criminal investigation agents filed charges against Maldonado Trinidad during an internal police power squabble.

In addition to accusing Maldonado Trinidad of fabricating cases, the cops charged that he accepted payoffs from



LUIS MALDONADO TRINIDAD

a furniture store. The store gave him furniture at prices way below market value and allowed him to take most of it on credit with no interest. Documents obtained by *Claridad* show that more than four years after the purchase only half the amount had been paid.

After the initial police charges were filed, Maldonado Trinidad accepted a \$7,000 loan from the furniture store. The loan was granted five days after police began investigating a fire at the store. At first police said they suspected arson, but the fire was later declared accidental.

The government's Civil Rights Commission made still more charges against Maldonado Trinidad in a report published in February 1970. The Commission documented a "pattern" of "third degree" interrogations that "constitute a practice of illegal detention."

The internal police charges against Maldonado Trinidad were investigated in March 1969. After evidence—the sworn statements reproduced last month by *Claridad*—was taken, officials took no action on the matter. They simply transferred Maldonado Trinidad to a less sensitive position.

The scandal surrounding Maldonado Trinidad is striking confirmation that government spying, harassment, frame-ups, and corruption are vices of both major big-business-controlled parties in Puerto Rico.

The original frame-ups and payoffs took place under Popular Democratic party administration. In 1969 the crimes were covered up by the newly installed New Progressive party administration. And the cover-up continued when the Popular Democrats again took control at the beginning of 1973.

Most analysts agreed that the upset victory of the New Progressives last fall was due in large part to public disgust over spying and corruption scandals. Victorious Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló won on promises of clean government and fair treatment.

His attempt to elevate Maldonado Trinidad to the post of superintendent of police shows how much those promises were worth.

## 'Tribute to Barry Evans'

By Nick Castle

LOS ANGELES—On February 10, 350 people attended a "Tribute to Barry Evans," sponsored by the People United for Justice for Barry Evans. Evans was a seventeen-year-old Black shot five times by two Los Angeles cops one year ago.

The two cops have not been indicted. And the community has shown its concern and anger through organized marches, rallies, and picket lines involving many organizations.

Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Sam Manuel attended the tribute. In a statement he called for the cops responsible to be "indicted, tried, convicted, and sent to jail for the murder of Barry Evans."

## Cueto jailed in 'FALN' probe

By Willie Mae Reid

Maria Cueto went to jail March 7 for refusing to cooperate in the fishing expedition of the federal grand jury allegedly investigating terrorist activities of the so-called FALN—Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

Cueto joins Raisa Nemikin, also an employee of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, who was jailed March 1.

Like Nemikin, Cueto faces imprisonment until the grand jury adjourns May 9, 1978.

Presiding Judge Marvin Frankel has rejected defense appeals to First Amendment rights of religious freedom as grounds for the two women's refusal to testify.

In a statement released March 7, Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York City, warned: "The government is using several incidents of terrorist bombings by a group they claim calls itself the FALN to institute a witch-hunt against the supporters of Puerto Rican independence."

Garza called on all organizations and individuals concerned with preserving the right of free speech to join him in protesting these arbitrary imprisonments and denials of constitutional rights.

## Group supports Yoshimura



WENDY YOSHIMURA

By Reiko Obata

OAKLAND, Calif.—The Fair Trial Committee announced plans to continue its support of Wendy Yoshimura, who was convicted January 20 on frame-up charges of possession of explosives and a machine gun.

Active in the committee are concerned members of the Japanese-American community, many of whom identified with Yoshimura's experiences in a World War II internment camp.

The defense says Judge Martin

Pulich gave prejudicial instructions to the jury, which was deadlocked for four days. This, along with evidence that Lucille Mitchell, a Black juror, was coerced into changing her vote, is the basis for Yoshimura's appeal.

## Oakland forum hits FBI crimes

By Sandy Porter

OAKLAND, Calif.—An audience of one hundred—mostly Black, Chicano, and Native American—gathered at the Militant Forum here February 18 to hear a panel discussion on FBI and government harassment.

The speakers were Michael Fultz of the Black Panther party, Dennis Banks of the American Indian Move-



Militant/Howard Petrick  
DENNIS BANKS

ment (AIM), and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers candidate for Oakland City Council.

Fultz explained the \$100 million lawsuit the Panthers recently filed against government harassment. He described how "the party spent \$3 million in bail between 1967 and 1970; our offices were dynamited; distribution of our newspaper was sabotaged; and thirty-one of our members murdered through the work of the FBI."

Fultz then announced that proof of Huey Newton's innocence would be produced soon. "With confidence," he said, "we can say that Huey will return to Oakland within the year."

Newton was forced into exile because of constant police harassment, including a murder charge and several assault charges against him.

Banks detailed the long history of repression suffered by Native Americans. He said the constant harassment, imprisonment, and killing of AIM members make it difficult for the eight-year-old organization to function.

Banks can't leave California due to a court ruling. So, he said, he will step down as national director of AIM on March 20.

Banks expressed his solidarity with the dissident movement in the Soviet Union. Commenting on the hypocrisy of President Carter's message to Andrei Sakharov, Banks turned to the other panelists and said, "Maybe we three should go to Russia—then Carter will recognize our rights."

The audience gave Banks a standing ovation. They agreed to send a telegram to Governor Brown demanding the release of two AIM activists, Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse.

In discussing the current status of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the government, DeBerry called on all groups to "join in the common opposition to government attacks against any single one of us."

Marina Garcia, a folk singer, played for the forum audience.

El día 8 de marzo, por la mañana, alrededor de las nueve, se sometió dicho artefacto al Laboratorio para su análisis correspondiente. Se le entregó al Químico Albert Vázquez Lugo y éste exclamó en mi presencia, "que haces con la bomba de experimento que preparé para el Teniente Feliciano" y entonces yo le indiqué que la bomba se había encontrado en una residencia en Toa Alta. Entonces el Químico Albert Vázquez Lugo llamó a su Supervisor Angel Figueroa Viera. Yo procedí a informar sobre esto al Comandante Luis Maldonado Trinidad. Que luego más tarde me dio instrucciones de no seguir con la investigación, cerrar la querrela como infundada. Eso es todo.

Part of police agent's sworn statement published in *Claridad*: "... It was handed to chemist Albert Vázquez Lugo and he exclaimed in my presence, 'what are you doing with that experimental bomb that I prepared for Lieutenant Feliciano,' and then I told him the bomb had been found in a residence in Toa Alta. ..."



**Rosenberg Files Show F.B.I. Pressed Hard to Expand Spy Trial**

By Peter Kirsch

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—The mass of material on the Rosenberg espionage case made public last week shows strenuous efforts by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to expand the charges against the defendants. Other documents said that Rosenberg had promised to assist him. The informant was quoted as saying that Rosenberg was "very cooperative" and "very helpful" in the espionage case.

**The documents released by the FBI contradict the solemn assertions by Judge Irving Kaufman that he was the model of an independent jurist.**

**The Rosenberg Boys Nail Judge Who Made Them Orphans**

THE VILLAGE VOICE  
September 20, 1976

By Nat Hentoff

The handling of some motions by Judge Kaufman, who presided over the Rosenberg case, has been a subject of controversy. The judge's decision to deny the defendants' motion for a new trial, based on the fact that the government had not disclosed all the evidence, was a subject of controversy. The judge's decision to deny the defendants' motion for a new trial, based on the fact that the government had not disclosed all the evidence, was a subject of controversy.

**Newly Released FBI Files - Excerpts**

SEPTEMBER 1976 LEX BREVIS

TO: Mr. Ladd  
FROM: A.H. Belmont  
SUBJECT: JULIUS ROSENBERG et al  
ESPIONAGE - R

March 16, 1951

While talking with Ray, Wheatley of the Department on the afternoon of March 16, he commented that with regard to the Rosenberg case, it was the fact that the defendant in the case, Julius Rosenberg, was convicted of espionage, that the government was not disclosing all the evidence, that the government was not disclosing all the evidence, that the government was not disclosing all the evidence.

**Key Rosenberg Witness Altered Story**

By William Chapman

David Greenglass, the key witness whose testimony led to the conviction of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for espionage, has altered his story in a new book. The book, "I Was a Communist for the U.S.A.," was published by Doubleday. The book is a memoir of Greenglass's life, from his childhood in Russia to his time in the United States. The book is a memoir of Greenglass's life, from his childhood in Russia to his time in the United States.

**"These Documents... Raise Serious Questions" Contents of Rosenberg-Sobell Files Disclosed**

A History Of The Rosenberg-Sobell Case 1951-Present

By Bill Whitman & Gerry Hecht

In mid-1950, Ethel Rosenberg, Julius Rosenberg, and Morton Sobell were arrested for alleged espionage activities with Russia. The prosecution alleged that they had conspired to divulge atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The case was one of the most famous in the history of the United States.

# The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case Invites Readers of The Militant to become Sustainers

## Why reopen the Rosenberg Case?

In prosecuting the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, the government perpetuated a lie. That lie was the equation of dissenters with communists and communists with traitors and spies. This equation still lingers in the minds of most Americans today. Dissenters are projected by the government as threats to the nation's security. They become targets for Co-Intelpro, Grand Jury abuse, political frame-ups, media blackouts and murder.

The majority of repressive tactics used by the government today were attempted in the Rosenberg-Sobell case. We want to demonstrate to the public, through the Rosenberg-Sobell case that recently revealed patterns of illegal government activities and governmental misconduct, as well as violations of the Constitution and civil liberties, are a continuation of a

pattern of institutional abuse of power, which existed long before the Rosenberg-Sobell case, and which is based upon the government's use of anti-communism as a weapon to suppress all dissent. By prying loose secret government files, we can expose the roots of current repressive activities which threaten us all.

## How to reopen the Rosenberg/Sobell Case

We are trying to make people aware of the above facts by speaking publicly, demonstrating, and circulating petitions demanding the release of all secret government files on the case. In attempting to disseminate this information, we have been hindered by minimal media coverage and by actual blackouts. We must double our efforts to overcome this, and that takes money.

We are using the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to gain access to the information contained in the government's files. In that lawsuit, the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, are suing 7 federal agencies, including the FBI and the CIA. From the time of the initial request for files until Judge June Green of the Washington Federal District Court ordered the processing of material for

release, it took the FBI 6 months to even begin to comply on a minimal scale. To date, we have forced the release of some 33,000 pages (at best 5-6% of what the government is holding). However, as of July 1976, the FBI still had not even searched all of its files. As a result, we won the right to question 6 FBI officials and 1 Justice Department official under oath, regarding their policies of non-compliance.

## What we have learned is for everybody who reads The Militant

We have discovered newly-revealed lies in the testimony of key prosecution witnesses, David Greenglass and Harry Gold, over and above those exposed by earlier research. We have evidence of government illegal activities on every level. We have discovered evidence about the conduct of the trial judge, Irving R. Kaufman, who is now Chief Judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.

(30 FBI documents published by this Committee as "The Kaufman Papers" raise serious questions of judicial and extrajudicial impropriety and illegality on the part of the judge, both during the trial and since, in seeking to speed the Rosenbergs to their death, to protect himself and the trial record from judicial review and to muzzle any public discussion. 107 law professors have signed a letter to Congress requesting an investigation into Judge Kaufman's conduct. Our Committee is supporting a campaign for an impeachment inquiry.)

We have also learned that the secret police feel seriously threatened by the Freedom of Information Act as it stands

now. They have therefore attempted to gut the law, using a variety of tactics. They have led people to believe all the Rosenberg files have been released, they have misrepresented their FOIA "burdens" to Congress, and they have pinpointed this lawsuit as the primary burden! We began by trying to make public all Rosenberg/Sobell files—now, in addition, we are fighting to enforce and protect the Freedom of Information Act—a law that, if enforced, can be an important step towards government openness and accountability. If we win, it will open the door for others. If we lose, we will all lose a law that, if strengthened, could help fight against secret government.



Copy of a Picasso print presented to Michael and Robert, sons of the Rosenbergs, by the artist

## Why do we need Sustainers?

Our successes in exposing the government's attempts to destroy the Freedom of Information Act, our successes in forcing the release of some files and winning court orders directing FBI agents to submit to questioning under oath, our successes in exposing Judge Kaufman's misconduct, and our attempts at showing how the government has used the Rosenberg/Sobell case to suppress all political dissent have placed tremendous responsibilities on us.

We must continue to fight against the government's attempts to destroy this law and we must spread the word about what we have learned. Our financial burdens increase with every victory. If we weren't winning, we wouldn't need to spend so much money!

We are desperately feeling the strain of the new burdens that success has placed on us. The lawsuit has cost \$100,000 in the past year and our lawyers, though prom-

ised fees, have never been paid. They cannot continue without money. We want to print more copies of "The Kaufman Papers," but are in debt for the original print run and organizational expenses. This year, we anticipate expenses far greater than those of the previous year.

If we are forced to stop our efforts because of the lack of money then the government has won, and we have all lost.

## Your regular support is the answer

The way to stay on our feet financially is to regularize our contributions. This is why we are starting a sustainer program. We urge readers of The Militant who understand the importance of what we're doing and its connections to the SWP's own legal battles and who want to keep the pressure on the FBI and other secret police agencies to become sustainers for the NCRRC. Individuals who can contribute any amount per month are urged to sign the pledge at the bottom of this page. Organizations are welcome to join as well.

**National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case**  
853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10011

I pledge the following monthly contribution to the NCRRC:

☐ \$5 ☐ \$10 ☐ \$15 ☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ Other \$.....

Make out checks or money orders to NCRRC and mail to above address.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

# Solidarity brings gains in Phila. news strike

By Hillary Nolan

PHILADELPHIA—For twenty-three days, Pennsylvania Newspapers Incorporated (PNI), owners of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Daily News*, used every weapon they had to break the strike by Newspaper Guild Local 10.

But solidarity was the key to victory. When the strike ended on March 2, with near-unanimous approval of the new contract, not a single union at the papers had crossed the guild picket lines.

Negotiations were not completed until the guild tried to ensure that supporting unions would not be victimized. The result was a compromise.

Judge Herbert Fogel had ruled that by honoring guild picket lines, the mailers, Teamsters, press operators, and machinists were breaking no-strike clauses in their contracts. Fines were reduced but still amount to a combined total of \$47,500 if paid by March 15 and \$70,000 if paid later.

The guild has pledged to raise donations in the labor movement to help pay the fines.

Reaction to the new contract terms was mixed. While most strikers felt that gains were made, the terms are below the union's initial demands.

The guild had sought an eighty-dollar-a-week raise over two years for the highest pay bracket. PNI offered forty dollars. The final settlement was fifty-seven dollars. The lowest bracket will get thirty dollars.

Health benefits were a big issue. PNI wanted to force guild members to pay for increases in health coverage costs, while the guild demanded that the company cover any increase.

The final settlement provided for higher company payments, but not enough to fully offset the expected rise in costs.

Guild members were proud of the solidarity shown during the strike. The unity of the Philadelphia newspaper crafts can serve as an example in an industry plagued with craft-union backstabbing. The unions are now discussing the possibility of coordinating expiration dates for all contracts at the Philadelphia papers.

The strength demonstrated in this strike is expected to have a good effect on workers at the *Evening Bulletin*, where a previous guild organizing drive was declared a tie and is still in court.

The guild includes office workers, reporters, and photographers. Some have tended to view themselves as "professionals" rather than workers and unionists. The strike has helped change that perception.

"What the strike did was confront us with a new sense of ourselves," columnist William Speers wrote March 6. "The few who did not picket rejected that sense, desperately holding on to the older, more comfortable idea. But those of us who did walk the lines were faced with the truth that one really is what one does."

"We weren't working at newspapering anymore, so what were we? We were strikers . . . we were in a struggle with big business. . . ."

The only point at the ratification meeting that was greeted with loud applause was the announcement by negotiator James Orcutt that the few supervisory guild members who did cross picket lines were specifically named as not covered by the contract and were no longer members of the guild.

The membership cheered when Orcutt said that the scabs had "put their trust in PNI, and will have to live by that trust."

widely known, Obata said, NSCAR needs to organize forums, pickets, and rallies to educate people about this new attack.

After the discussion on the Bakke decision, activists in SCAR chapters shared experiences and discussed common problems. Discussion ranged from how to raise money for SCAR activities to how to convince students to join the national antiracist student organization.

James Harris, a representative of the newly formed SCAR chapter at Mesa College in San Diego, summed up the feeling of most meeting participants:

"We've got to get into the streets like in the sixties. SCAR is trying to get people to believe in ourselves, and in our power to change things. That's why we're going to grow, and that's also why we're going to win."

create problems for us too, because they are our brothers.

"If President Carter is thinking of putting in laws like that, it seems to be in contradiction with the apparent new interest he's displayed for human rights."

When told further details of the administration's proposals, he shot back: "Those people aren't from here, they're foreigners. Their parents come from Europe and they come here wanting to put in their laws and what they want."

"But those days are over."

"It's a *Roots* situation," said **Herman Baca**, chairperson of the National City, California, Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights.

"The whole question of amnesty is

# Calendar

## ALBANY, N.Y.

**FBI VS. CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.** Speakers: Kevin Kellogg, SWP, Dave Matthews, YSA; Rick Hind, New Citizen; and others. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. Arbor Hill Community Center, 50 N. Lark St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 482-7348.

## CLEVELAND

**DESEGREGATION: ITS MEANING FOR CLEVELAND.** Featuring a 1964 tape of Cleveland civil rights movement followed by discussion. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## DALLAS

**MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS.** Speaker: James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Fifth Congressional District, Atlanta. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## DENVER

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: WHICH WAY FORWARD?** Speaker: Katherine Sojourner, organizer Salt Lake City SWP and member NOW. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## DETROIT: WEST SIDE

**PERSPECTIVES ON 'ROOTS'.** Speakers: William Shelley, English instructor, Highland Park Community College; Seth Wigderson, graduate assistant, history department, Wayne State University; and Sidney Hunter, Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

## MILWAUKEE

**WHY TEACHERS GO ON STRIKE.** Speakers: Max Reed, field representative of National Education Association; Bob Ginsberg, president Local 3220 of American Federation of Teachers; Tony Prince, member Milwaukee Teachers Education Association; and a leader of the Racine, Wis., teachers strike. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**TERROR AND TORTURE IN LATIN AMERICA.** Speakers: Maura Rodriguez, national coordinator of USLA; Petti Guerrero, recent visitor to Argentina; representative of Committee to Defend the Prisoners of the Frontier in the Dominican Republic. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Hear Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and other speakers. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. (Reception begins at 7 p.m.) To be held at the newly opened Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: The Bronx Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

very dangerous," Baca said. "It says you're being forgiven for a crime. But what's the crime we've committed? Being exploited? Being oppressed?"

Baca was especially wary of any "amnesty" that did not include a halt to all deportations and full civil and human rights for all undocumented workers.

"Otherwise we're like Chicken George's sons in *Roots*," he said. "Chicken George had a piece of paper and he was free. But his sons didn't, and they remained slaves. Anyone who doesn't get the paper is going to be right in the status quo. And we're back where we started."

**Juan José Peña**, chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, said the group had not yet taken a formal position on Marshall's proposal, "but by way of prediction, I'll tell you we'll be against such a thing."

"We are totally in favor of an open border," Peña said. "That's in our 1976 platform and in the Declaration of Human Rights from our 1975 convention."

"So that's our position. And anything having to do with an internal passport, restrictions, and the rest goes against our position."

**Ricardo Parra**, executive director of the Midwest Council of La Raza,

**BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: John Hawkins, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (215) V14-2874.

## PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

**ISSUES FACING WOMEN IN 1977.** Speakers: Lyn Wilbur, president Northern Prince Georges County NOW; Gretchen Whorton, Hillcrest Abortion Clinic; Hilda Smith, women's studies, University of Maryland; Dorothy Hawkinson, SWP. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 4318 Hamilton St., Hyattsville. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 864-4867.

## RICHMOND, VA.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: A SYMPOSIUM ON WOMEN AND SOCIALISM.** Fri., March 18, 8 p.m.: *A Black Feminist Talks Strategy for Women's Rights.* Speaker: Rhonda Rutherford, member SWP and NOW. Sat., March 19, 4 p.m.: A workshop on the roots of women's oppression. 6 p.m.: A workshop on feminism and socialism. 7:30 p.m.: Informal dinner and party at Militant Bookstore, 1203 W. Main St. The first three sessions will be held at the Rhoads Hall, Multipurpose Room, Virginia Commonwealth University. Donation: \$1 per session or \$2 entire symposium. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

## ST. LOUIS: NORTH SIDE

**LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.** A film. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. Immanuel Lutheran Church, 3540 Marcus. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

## ST. LOUIS: WEST END

**STEEL—THE FIGHTBACK CONTINUES.** Speaker: Joel Britton, National Committee SWP. Thurs., March 17, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## SALT LAKE CITY

**ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE.** Speakers: Sandra Bagley, director Utah Women's Clinic; Lucy Billings, attorney; Beverley Dalley, Ogden, Utah, NOW; Bonnie Hartley, founder Utah Welfare Rights Organization; Bonnie Rogers, executive director, Salt Lake City NAACP; and Katherine Sojourner, organizer, Salt Lake City SWP. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. YWCA, 322 E. 300 South. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum.

## SAN DIEGO

**FBI AGAINST THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.** Speaker: Jan Gangel, SWP. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4639.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF RACISM IN SAN FRANCISCO.** Speaker: Elena Alberts, member of the African-American Historical Society. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 1441 Ocean Ave. (near Granada) four blocks west of City College. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 333-6261 or 285-4686.

## STRATEGY FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

Speaker: Linda Nordquist. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 1351 Haight St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 668-5355.

## SEATTLE

**IRELAND: 800 YEARS OF STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Patricia Bethard, former SWP city council candidate, member executive board AFSCME Local 1488. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

says a national coalition should be formed to oppose the racist immigration policies.

"We've been getting good information from a number of publications and groups but I think something larger has to be built involving a lot of the civil rights groups, civil liberties groups, and churches."

"The Immigration and Naturalization Service is pumping out information, creating the image of people who are taking very well-paying jobs. Our side of the story needs to be told."

Para says a broad-based national coalition can reach "those who may not agree, or who simply don't know the facts, who have been spoon-fed propaganda by the other side."

**Ray Santiago**, secretary-treasurer of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, said, "We have a position of defending people without papers." He said he favored "a vigorous national campaign" of protests against the Carter administration plans.

Santiago reported that FLOC is organizing hearings on the abuse and exploitation of Mexicans without papers that will be held in Toledo, Ohio, on March 26.

Further information on the hearing can be obtained from: FLOC, 408 Segur Avenue, Toledo, Ohio 43609. Telephone: (419) 243-3456.

# ...NSCAR

Continued from page 5

ever been recognized by a state supreme court," she said. "It sets a dangerous precedent for affirmative-action programs that benefit oppressed minorities and women across the country."

"The concept of 'reverse discrimination' is a myth. It's not thirty-six-year-old white males like Allan Bakke who are discriminated against in this society, but Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and other oppressed minorities who are denied equal access to education."

"NSCAR's goal must be to mobilize majority opinion against the Bakke decision and show the U.S. Supreme Court that we oppose this decision."

Because the Bakke decision is not

# ...Mexican immigrants

Continued from back page

cally they've tried to make undocumented people scapegoats, and this is no different.

"What we need to do is to treat the question from a humane standpoint," Cowan said.

**Reies López Tijerina**, head of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, said, "We are in favor of the Mexicans that come from Mexico as well as against the laws that oppress and harass them."

Tijerina came to national prominence in the mid-1960s as the central leader of the movement to recover land stolen from Chicanos in New Mexico. "When the United States government makes problems for the Mexicans from Mexico," he told the *Militant*, "they





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## 'Mexican immigrants are our brothers and sisters'

### Movement figures score new attacks on 'illegals'

Last month Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall announced that the Carter administration is planning a crackdown on immigrants without residence permits, the so-called illegal aliens. (See article below.)

According to Marshall, the administration plan would include issuing mandatory identification cards to all U.S. workers making it a crime to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers and giving "amnesty" to certain undocumented people who have been in the United States for an unspecified period of time.

The "Militant" polled several prominent figures in the Chicano and antideportation movements for their reaction to the Carter plan. Following are some of their comments.

José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida party, said, "We are taking steps backward, to the epoch of Hitler." He compared

Marshall's ID card proposal to "the numbers they put on Jews in Nazi Germany. Except that instead of putting them on our arms, they want us to carry them on papers on our body."

Gutiérrez said he is opposed to the Rodino bill now before Congress and to any other law that would make it a crime to hire undocumented workers. If such bills are passed, "every person who isn't blond and blue-eyed will have to go around proving that they aren't Mexicans without documents."

"I am very disappointed with Mr. Peanut," Gutiérrez concluded.

"It's a very dangerous precedent when we begin to register people in that fashion," said Margo Cowan, director of the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona.

She said the proposals and the government's unsuccessful indictments against her and three other Tucson immigration counselors "both reflect a real sick atmosphere. Histori-

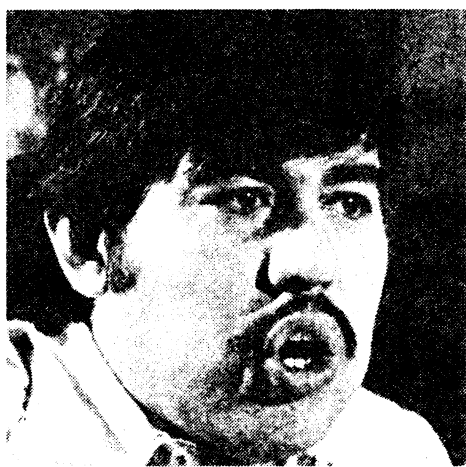
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Militant/Harry Ring  
JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ



Militant/Harry Ring  
MARGO COWAN



Militant/Joseph Ryan  
HERMAN BACA



REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA

## Carter hucksters peddle internal passport plan

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Carter administration is playing a tricky public relations game in its drive against "illegal aliens," including a hard-cop, soft-cop routine by cabinet members.

But the appearance of a "soft cop" does not diminish the danger for undocumented immigrants or lessen the threat of internal passports being fastened on all U.S. working people.

The "hard cop" emerged February 22 when Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall announced that Carter had appointed a three-member cabinet-level committee to plan a crackdown on immigrants without residence permits.

Marshall told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter that Carter would press to make it illegal for employers to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers, the so-called illegal aliens.

To put teeth in such a job ban, Marshall said, all U.S. workers would be required to carry "counterfeit-proof" ID cards.

Two days later the "soft cop" came on stage. Attorney General Griffin Bell summoned reporters to say that he had "doubts" about the wisdom of ID cards.

"I've been to South Africa," the Georgia racist piously advised, "and I do not favor" the kind of pass system the South African Blacks are subjected to. He noted that the "counterfeit-proof" cards discussed by Marshall "might be a step in that direction."

Bell also stated that Chicano groups "are generally opposed" to legislation making it an offense to hire undocumented workers. Chicanos feel, he said,

that this would intensify job discrimination against all workers of Mexican descent. There could be "merit" to that argument, Bell said.

But there the soft-cop image begins to fall apart. Only nine days earlier, Bell told a San Francisco banquet of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund that he favored civil penalties for employers who hire undocumented workers.

At his February 24 Washington news conference, Bell stressed that he had called for "civil," not "criminal" penalties for such offenses. "Civil" penalties mean fines only; "criminal" penalties carry the possibility of imprisonment.

Such a distinction is intended to placate employers, not the Chicano community. Favoring any kind of penalties obviously contradicts his alleged concern for the "merit" of the Chicano argument against any alien job ban.

Read carefully, his statement on South African pass cards is equally ambiguous.

The point of the South African card system is that only Blacks have to carry them. Whites don't.

Bell's associate, Marshall, proposes to "correct" such an inequity here by having *all* workers carry internal passports.

This is justified with the phony argument that Chicanos and other brown-skinned people would then not be discriminated against. The government and employers see obvious advantages in an ID card system.

It would provide perfect machinery for extension of government surveillance, harassment, and other police-state methods on an unprecedented scale. For example, used with a blacklisting system, it could

tear the guts out of the trade-union movement.

The opening wedge on internal passports is already being introduced.

Beginning this month, such cards are being issued to legal resident aliens.

In addition to photo and fingerprints, the cards bear several rows of coded numbers. Run through a computer system, the code will assertedly provide the "characteristics" of the rightful bearer.

Is there any reason to believe that in the land of Watergate, the dossiers behind those code numbers would be limited to "physical" characteristics?

At his Washington news conference, Bell asserted that he had not discussed the question of work-force pass cards with Marshall, although, he added, "others may have."

It's hardly plausible that there's been a cabinet-level breakdown of communications. Far more likely, Marshall and Bell are engaged in a joint media operation to determine how far and how fast they can go in implementing this chauvinist antilabor package.

The decision to really go after undocumented immigrants was announced, in a carefully staged move, by Carter himself.

The president had been invited to address a February 9 meeting of congressional Democrats. At Carter's instructions the meeting was broadened to include Republicans.

The immigration issue was not on the agenda. But in his opening remarks Carter said that he "realized the desirability of placing tight restraints" on employers who hire undocumented workers.

## MANZO: GOV'T DROPS CHARGES

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